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ART. I.—*Froissart and his Times.* By the late BARRY ST. LEGER, Esq. In 3 vols. London: 1832.

WE open the interesting volumes before us, and are hurried back to another and far different era from our own. We are in the midst of jousts and tournaments, and all the pomp and circumstance of chivalric war—we hear the clangour of arms, the neighing of steeds, the battle cry of contending warriors—we behold the “people” (called by the chroniclers of the times, “villeyens” and “rascall-people”) regarded only so far as they may swell the retinue or fill the pockets of their lordly masters. We close the book, and are in the nineteenth century—in an age of practical philosophy; of utilitarian plans of existence—no chivalry—no romance—and where “the people,” formerly mere adjectives in government, are now justly considered as alone, sovereign, and the only true sources of power; and where, knights having long since disappeared, even kings and nobles are fast following them. Such is man! such the changes which are wrought by the hand of time! The eye cannot catch even a glimpse, through the long and dark vista of futurity, of the spectacle this world may present, when we shall be to our descendants, what the inhabitants of the fourteenth century are to us.

It is a good and a pleasant thing, thus to transport ourselves to other times; and shutting ourselves up in our cabinets, to hold converse with the mighty dead; or mingle in imagination in that crowd of the “fashionables” of the middle ages who exercised far more physical, if not more moral sway over the rest of society, than even the far-famed “exclusives” of Almack’s. Theirs’ was the aristocracy, not merely of wealth, but of valour. They *fought* their way to distinction; and by feats of arms, con-

quered dignities, wealth, and power. At the time we speak of, literature was in its infancy—the arts and sciences scarce had existence—physical properties, therefore, had full sway: which, though their pre-eminence may challenge a respect infinitely less exalted than that which is due to moral superiority, yet demand a nobler homage than the spurious and factitious deference arrogated by the votaries of modern fashion. It is pleasant, too, to retreat from the bustle and the disquiet of *present* scenes—now, particularly, when the jargon of discordant theories harasses and vexes even our once happy and peaceful soil; and to retire to the calm contemplation of past and settled transactions. This is one of the chief pleasures, to say not a word of the advantages of history.

On this point, however, we would delight to dwell at large, were we not to go over ground too often trodden. Man, *as he is*, must most nearly resemble, in his nature, man *as he has been*. History, then, is the light by which we may guide our steps through the intricacies of human affairs; and which, casting its radiance into futurity, enables the statesman, as it were, to foresee the results and the operations of his schemes. Suffice it therefore to say, that without a knowledge of it, no one can be well educated in our land especially, where the reins of government are within reach of any who may buffet their way to the chariot-seat.

We refer not merely to what, unfortunately, too many of our histories are,—dry details of facts. These, of course, have their interest; but were history confined to such an enumeration, its importance would be nearly destroyed to the inquiring mind. Cause and effect, (whatever dispute there may be as to its existence as a distinct idea in our minds,) we are all anxious to ferret out in what goes on around us. Moral causes, that grand field of philosophical discussion and investigation, true history explores. The results of passion, whether of ambition, or avarice, or love, the schemes of selfishness, the plans of patriotic and philanthropic ardour,—in a word, the workings of mind, and the supremacy of genius, are pictured forth on the historic page. Nor is this all. Manners, customs, every thing that is embraced in the word society, (the successive changes in which are certainly one of the most amusing objects of contemplation,) are offered for our inspection. The progress of literature, its effect upon mankind, the march of civilization, why and how retarded or advanced, the growth of religion, its corruption, its purification, all that regards man as a social being, appear to us as embraced in the term history.

With a few exceptions, these, which have sometimes most strangely been considered minor details, may be found, if not expressly, yet more clearly set forth in those productions which

bear the humbler and more unpretending title of *Chronicles*. Of their history, and of some of their most distinguished authors, we shall make brief mention presently.

Chronicles are the more homely and familiar records of the times, containing much of biography, and of personal and individual sketches of character, dress, usages—of every day newspaper events; and from which, therefore, may be derived clearer and more intimate views of a former age. They are similar in character to that class of writings, with which modern French literature, above that of all other nations abounds,—we mean “*Memoires*,” whose intrinsic interest and importance are justly appreciated. Most of them are records, contemporaneous with the facts they narrate—in which the author, (speaking generally and familiarly in the first person,) tells what he has seen with his own eyes, or heard from the lips of those who have been personally engaged in the transactions recorded. The reader has thus a fresh and a vivid picture of interesting incidents, coloured it may be with the partialities or the prejudices of a contemporary, but yet with the advantage of their being regarded in just the point of view in which they appeared to his mind.

Another cause of the interest we feel in these productions, may be their antiquity: and the consequent plain and unaffected style in which they are written. The Chronicles are among the first productions in the vulgar tongue. Though abounding in many words and phrases now perfectly obsolete, and though the ear may be occasionally shocked by an uncouth, perhaps barbarous expression, they are decked in no meretricious or tinselled verbiage—are free from every affectation of speech—address themselves naturally and concisely to the reader, and therefore interest his feelings; and though they may want the polish, have not the labour of more modern productions. We read the very language which the Chronicler spoke.

These productions are first discovered in an age when the struggle began between the Latin and the vulgar tongue: the latter of which, notwithstanding the persevering opposition of the clergy and the Universities, (which were, in truth, completely under their influence,) gradually forced its way into more common use, and even obtained a lodgment in the schools of the time. They are, therefore, not of a clerical cast: and, indeed, are tinged more with feudal than ecclesiastical prejudices.

Among the very early Chroniclers, and who may be considered as constituting the first class, are Joinville, Matthew Paris, the Monk of Trois Fontaines, and many others, who wrote traditional histories, in what were denominated “*Rimes delectables*.” It is stated that, in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, there were more than one hundred and eighty of these authors, be-

sides the crowd of "Gai Chanteurs," "Trouvères," and Troubadours, who mixed up history and fable in their verses. Of the productions of this age, the "Roman de la Rose," and the "Bible Guyot" are perhaps the most conspicuous. The latter, especially, has been considered a faithful picture of the manners of the age; and in reviewing individuals in every degree of society, from the king to clerks, the author has not used the lash of satire with a sparing hand.

In succeeding times, we find writers of a much higher order, not only as regards the purity of style, but also the philosophic cast of their works. They were men who held stations near the persons of monarchs and nobles: who were conversant with the secrets of government, and took an active part in negotiations and treaties. They sketch, therefore, more than the mere current of events; they diverge into observations upon the politics and nature of their era; and lived, too, at a time, when negotiations and treaties became objects of importance, as in them may be discerned the germ of those which are considered conspicuous points in the history of modern Europe.

Among these authors, two hold a prominent post: we allude to the "good Mr. John Froissart," and to Philip de Comines: the latter of whom, were his fame not already established, the Author of *Waverley* would rescue from oblivion. The characters and the cast of mind of these two men were decidedly different. Of Froissart, we shall speak more at length: but we can spare only a few lines to his illustrious fellow-chronicler. Comines was born of a noble family, in the year 1446; and, it is well known, passed the early part of his life in the service of the Comte de Charolais, afterwards the unfortunate and rash Duke of Burgundy, whose intimate friend and adviser he was. From his service, (from what motive has never been exactly ascertained,) he passed into that of the infamous Louis XI., whose confidence and favour he possessed in an equally high degree.

De Comines was endowed with the mind of a statesman, and had the chief hand in the numerous and intricate negotiations, which were so well suited to the crafty and politic disposition of his master. His confidential situations, successively, in the cabinets of two princes, who were connected by alliances with all the rest of Europe, offered advantages which the acute and industrious nature of the future historian of these events, never permitted him to neglect. His chronicles are therefore of a graver cast. "They are not," it has been well said, "the mere gossip of the tournament: but exhibit a detail of those important events which form the history of a nation." Froissart has been beautifully called "the butterfly of the Court," while "Comines, with the industry of the bee, studied the main-

spring of diplomatic machinery, and was contented only with the treasures of truth." However much we may be inclined to admire the deep sagacity, and the many estimable qualities of this distinguished man, we do not know that we can regret the misfortunes which befel his latter years. He had consecrated his talents to the service of a bad master; he had derived greatness from the friendship of a bad man; and "verily he had his reward." With Louis' death, the sun of De Comines' prosperity set: he languished a long time in prison; his influence was over. Of his retirement, nevertheless, he made a good use, as, in this part of his career, he penned his admirable Memoirs.

We are tempted to give, (though the extract is long,) the full account of Froissart's life, in our author's own words. An abridgment would detract from the beauty and interest of a narrative, that cannot fail to recommend itself to all.

"John Froissart was born at Valenciennes, in Hainault, about the year 1337. It is supposed that his father was a herald painter: a profession at that time in considerable repute, and which was singularly in keeping with the future tastes and pursuits of the son. He seems, indeed, to have manifested these, and other predilections, at a very early period; for, from the age of twelve, 'well I loved,' says he, 'to see dances and carolling, well to hear minstrelsey and tales of glee, well to attach myself to those who loved hounds and hawks, well to toy with my fair companions at school; and methought I had the art well to win their grace.' This might be all very fit for the future courtier; but it seems a curious kind of education for a person who was destined to be 'priest, canon, and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay.' Nothing, indeed, can more fully represent a man of voluptuous and self-indulgent habits, than the above catalogue of his tastes; and the concluding intimation of his favour with the fair, gives a glimpse of the poet of love,—the devoted minstrel, as well as chronicler of the merits of the softer sex. He was, also, a bonvivant; he says that his 'ears quickened at the sound of uncorking of the wine-flask;' 'for,' continues he, 'I took great pleasure in drinking, and in fair array, and in delicate and fresh cates. I love to see (as is reason) the early violets, and the white and red roses, and also chambers fairly lighted; justs, dances, and late vigils; and fair beds for refreshment; and, for my better repose, a night draught of claret or Rochelle wine, mingled with spices." This is pretty well, I think, for one sworn to celibacy and temperance! but the natural propensity proved too strong for the professional vow. Froissart became an historian very early in life; and he seems, from the first, to have adopted the plan of travelling into all parts where he thought he could obtain materials. He was scarcely twenty years old, when, as he tells us, 'his dear lord and master, Sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort,' instigated him to write a history of the French wars. He begins as far back as the year 1326; and the narrative of the period, down to the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, is chiefly taken from the Chronicles of Jean le Bel, canon of Liege: whose information would seem principally to have been derived from the confidence of John of Hainault. Froissart speaks in high terms of his industry and correctness. From the battle of Poitiers down to 1400—in which year Froissart's history terminates, he may be considered a contemporary; and the pains which he took to acquire information were excessive and unceasing. He appears to have possessed, to an extraordinary degree, the faculty of insinuating himself into the favour, and even the confidence of those with whom he mixed; and this circumstance, joined to the desire of the nobles and knights, with whom he conversed, to have their deeds recorded in his history, caused him to derive a great proportion of his facts from those who had been eye-witnesses, and even actors in them. He was admitted into the houses

of persons of the highest rank and merit. He was six years clerk of the Closet, or secretary, to Queen Philippa; and in this court, in the French court, and in those of the subordinate potentates to which he travelled, he was indefatigable in gathering information both from counsellors and warriors, and also from heralds, who, in those days, were the chief agents of diplomacy. The thirty years, on the other hand, from 1326 to 1356, are not given as from his knowledge, and ought rather to be considered as a preliminary detail, calculated to put the reader in possession of the facts necessary for him to understand that which is to follow. It is clear that a history of these times, beginning at the battle of Poitiers, would be obscure and unintelligible in the last degree. It is to obviate this, that the narrative of the preceding thirty years is given; and accordingly it does not possess, to the same extent, those qualities of spirit and picturesqueness, for which Froissart's writings are generally remarkable. It is, nevertheless, from these very merits, that Froissart's chief faults arise; namely, an avidity to receive and record every thing which can add dramatic effect to his history, without too scrupulously examining into its foundation in fact. I have already alluded to the doubts that exist as to the colouring which he gives to the celebrated story of the six citizens of Calais. It is an incident peculiarly striking and dramatic in itself, and redounds to the honour of the fair sex in general, and of his benefactress in particular—temptations which would make Froissart think any extraordinary investigation into its accuracy quite superfluous. Again, in the following story, the reader will find a marvellous account of a spirit who 'brought tidings from all parts of the world,' and of a talking bear, which Froissart recites, with some expressions of surprise, indeed, but with no more doubt than the physical facts of the battle of Crecy, and the captivity of the French king. The first part of his history Froissart presented to Queen Philippa, on his going to England, in 1361. His object in quitting his country, was to tear himself from an attachment through which he had suffered for some time. This attachment he alludes to constantly in his poetry; and it is difficult to distinguish between real facts, and those adventitious embellishments with which poets have always conceived themselves to be licensed to adorn the history of their loves. Certain it is, that a poem in which he states that he is called upon by Mercury to revise the judgment of Paris—that he confirms it—and that Venus, in consequence, promises him a mistress more beautiful than Helen, cannot be supposed entirely to consist of sober fact; yet there are some circumstances which would lead to the conclusion that the fiction was embroidered upon some ground of reality. He seems, however, to have had more loves than one—as he celebrates one under the name of Anne, another under that of Alix, and a third by a poem, entitled '*Dittée de la fleur Margherite*,' in honour of the flower which bore her name. Froissart returned into Hainault for a short time; and then, going again to England, attached himself to the service of Queen Philippa. This princess highly patronised letters. Queen's College, in Oxford, was founded by her; and Froissart, being at once a learned person, a countryman, a poet, and a courtier, fraught with the accomplishments to which the tastes recorded above naturally lead, it was no wonder that he was received by her with favour and protection. During his stay in her service, it would appear that he was employed in the composition of romances of love, for her amusement. The fopperies of gallantry, by which the middle ages were distinguished, had not yet entirely passed away. It was scarcely more than an hundred years since the courts of love had ceased to be held, and some of the same spirit existed still. The story told of the institution of the Order of the Garter, is singularly in keeping with it. In despite of the doubt which it has attempted to throw upon the tradition, I am inclined to believe that it must have been founded in fact, from the very circumstance of a garter being the peculiar badge of the Order. The Order of St. George would speak for itself; but a garter is an emblem bearing no knightly or national characteristic whatsoever. At a court like this, it is no wonder that Froissart was a favourite. He appears, indeed, to have been treated with peculiar kindness and liberality by the Queen: for, during the period he was attached to her household, he travelled into many parts of Europe at her expense, seeking, according to his custom, materials to

correct and enrich his history. Among other places, he went to Scotland, where, as usual, he seems to have been universally well received. His equipage had in it nothing very imposing; for he travelled on horseback, with his portmanteau behind him, and a grey hound at his heels. He was entertained by William, Earl of Douglas, at his palace of Dalkeith; and he seems always to have preserved a grateful remembrance of the courtesies that he met with there. He travelled also into Wales about the same period. He was present at the parting of Edward III. and his Queen, from the Prince and Princess of Wales, on the departure of the latter for Aquitaine in 1361. He also witnessed the passage of King John of France, between Eltham and Westminster, on his return into England in 1363. In 1366, he went to Bordeaux, and accompanied the Black Prince, on his expedition into Spain, as far as Dax; but he was disappointed in his hopes for being present during the campaign: for, on the army again moving forward, the Prince, from what reason it does not appear, sent Froissart back to England to the Queen. He did not remain there long; for, in the following year, we find him travelling among the courts in the north of Italy. This enabled him to be present at the marriage of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., to Iolande, daughter of Gaucas, Duke of Milan. This marriage was celebrated on the 25th of April, 1368. Froissart gives a detailed description of the magnificent reception which Amadeus, Count of Savoy, (surnamed the Count Verd,) gave to the English Prince on his return. The feasts lasted three days; and Froissart makes honourable mention of a vi-relay of his own composition, which was danced during their course. The Count Verd made Froissart a present of "a good Cottehardie," (a species of tunic, common to men and women.) In the purse attached to this coat, were twenty florins of gold. This manner of making gifts to poets and minstrels, was very much in use at the time; and Froissart seems to have taken considerable pride in this instance of it. He continued his travels in Italy: visited Bologna, and Ferrara, where he received a similar present from the King of Cyprus. He went on to Rome, where he mentions having seen an Emperor at the papal court. It is supposed that this was the Grecian Emperor, Palaeologus, who came to Rome in 1369, to beg assistance against the Turks. This year was the date of the heaviest loss which could possibly befall Froissart. Queen Philippa, of England, died. This Princess appears to have been a very favourable specimen of the noble dames of her time. If not distinguished for warlike deeds, like Jane de Montfort, or Jane of Blois,—it was because she was never, like them, deprived of those natural protectors, during whose presence the battle-field is any thing but the province of woman. Her court was distinguished for all the brilliancies and amenities which existed in her age: and no reason has reached posterity for supposing that they were degraded by the profligacy which too commonly attended them. The following is the account which Froissart gives of her death. He was not, indeed, in England at the time: nor did he return thither for upwards of twenty-seven years; but he could not fail of having ample information on the subject. 'In the mean season, there fell in England a heavy case, and a common; howbeit, it was right piteous for the king, his children, and all his realm; for the good Queen of England, that so many good deeds had done in her time, and so many knights succoured, and damsels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goods to her people, and naturally loved always the nation of Hainault, the country where she was born,—she fell sick in the castle of Windsor: the which sickness continued on her so long, that there was with her no remedy but death. And the good lady, when she knew and perceived that there was with her no remedy but death, she desired to speak with the king, her husband; and when he was before her, she put out of the bed her right hand, and took the king by his right hand, who was right sorrowful at his heart. Then she said, 'Sir, we have in peace, joy, and great prosperity, used our time together: Sir, now I pray you, at our departing, that you will grant me three desires.' The king, right sorrowfully weeping, said, 'Madam, desire what you will, I grant it.' 'Sir,' said she, 'I require you, first of all, that all manner of people, such as I have dealt withal in their merchandise, on this side of the sea, or beyond, that it may please you to pay every thing I owe to them,

or to any other. And, secondly, sir, all such ordinance and promises as I have made to the churches, as well of this country, as beyond the sea, where I have had my devotion, that it may please you to accomplish and fulfil the same. Thirdly, sir, I require you that it may please you to take no other sepulture, whensoever it shall please God to call you out of this transitory life, but beside me in Westminster.' The king, all weeping, said, 'Madam, I grant all your desires.' Then the good lady and queen made on her the sign of the cross, and commended the king her husband to God, and her youngest son Thomas, who was there beside her. And, anon, after she yielded up the spirit, the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to heaven; for, in all her life, she did, neither in thought nor deed, thing whereby to lose her soul, as far as any creature could know. Thus the good Queen of England died in the year of our Lord 1369, and in the vigil of our lady, in the midst of August.' After the death of Queen Philippa, Froissart returned into his own country, where he procured the living of Lestine. The account which he has left of his ministry is eminently characteristic: he tells us that, during the short time he was rector of Lestines, the tavern-keepers of that place received upwards of five hundred francs of his money. This smacks exceedingly of the young gentleman, whose ears 'quickened' at the emphatic sound of the drawing a cork. He next became attached to the service of Wenceslaus, of Luxembourg, Duke of Brabant—whose secretary, also, it is probable that he was. The Duke had a taste for poetry, and engaged Froissart in making a collection of his compositions: these Froissart interlarded with some pieces of his own, and formed the whole into a kind of romance, entitled *Meliador*, or the Knight of the Golden Sun. It is of this book, that such worthy mention is made in the following story: for Froissart read aloud, out of it, every night to Gaston de Foix, after supper, who would not allow a word to be spoken during the reading, such 'great solace' did he take in hearing these compositions. I cannot but think that this oil of flattery to the poet's self-love, tended to heal the wounds in Gaston's own fame, which a just appreciation of his demerits by the chronicler would infallibly have made. During these years, it is probable that Froissart continued his historical labours: for we find that, under letters sealed on the 12th December, 1381, the Duke of Anjou had fifty-six quires of the Chronicle of Froissart, rector of the parish church of Lestines, seized: which he had sent to have illuminated, previously to their transmission to the King of England, the enemy of France. Wenceslaus, Duke of Brabant, died in 1384; and Froissart, ever the favourite of the great, very shortly afterwards was taken into the service of Guy of Châtillon, Count of Blois, at whose desire and expense, he recommenced his history. In the researches consequent upon this, he made the visit to the court of the Count of Foix. At the court of Gaston de Foix, Froissart, like Don Quixote at the Duke's, is constantly reminded of such and such passages of his former history. The Count receives him with eminent favour and distinction; and knights and squires are eager to give him every information, in the hope of being duly commemorated in the continuation of his Chronicles. Indeed Froissart himself seems sufficiently to appreciate the power of conferring immortality, which was vested in his hands: for of that of his Chronicles, he never doubts for one moment. In the third book it is, that he gives the account of his visit to the Count de Foix's court; and he makes that visit the cadre of all the historical information which he records therein. Hence those latter books appear to me, as I have already hinted, more in the light of historical memoirs, than of history itself. He does not relate the events as they occur, in an independent and consecutive narrative: but he details the conversations which he held with the many persons of eminence and experience whom he met at Orthez; and thus gives the history of several years, between his arrival at the Count's court, towards the end of November, 1388, and his departure from it about the Easter following. He indulges in more minute descriptions than in the former volumes, of more severe history; and hence, as a picture of manners, the latter books are the more valuable and interesting.

"Froissart left Orthez in the suite of the young Countess of Boulogne, who went as the bride of the Duke of Berri, uncle of Charles VI., as the reader will

find detailed in the following story. They went by way of Avignon, to see the Pope, Clement VII., who was a kinsman of the young dutchess. During his stay there, Froissart was robbed; an event which he laments in a long ditty, into which he inserts many particulars of his life. In the later journeys of which I have spoken. Froissart's equipage was considerably changed from the humble one which he visited Scotland; he was always richly clothed, and well mounted, and followed by a servant, upon a hackney, who carried his valise. He was, according to his own description, a man of expensive and luxurious habits; indeed, his almost continual journeys for many years; his living amongst kings and nobles together with the tastes rehearsed in the outset of this memoir, could not fail to drain a purse even replenished as often as his was by the liberality of the rich and great. After this period, Froissart seems to have been in constant motion for two or three years. From Avignon he went into Auvergne, where he was present at the nuptials of the Duke of Berri, and composed a pastoral upon the occasion. From thence he went with the Lord de la Rivière to Paris. He then accompanied the Lord de Coucy into the Cambresis, to the castle of Crevecoeur, who had just had it given to him by the king. From him Froissart learned various particulars of the negotiations between France and England. He next passes a fortnight in his own country, (Hainault,) and a month in Holland, with his patron the Count of Blois, to whom he relates the history of his travels. He goes to Selinghen to acquire information concerning the negotiations there carrying on. Thence he returns to Paris, and witnesses the magnificent entry of Isabel of Bavaria—with a very detailed description of which he opens his fourth book. After this, it would appear, that he returned to Avignon; for he describes with great minuteness the particulars of the interview of Charles VII. with the Pope; which occurred in the same progress on which the king received the homage of Gaston de Foix, at Thoulouse; at which ceremony Froissart distinctly states himself to have been present. Nothing, indeed, can exceed his activity during this period. At every congress, at every festival, at every pageant, military or religious, Froissart is there. Such constant intercourse as this with the most figuring persons of the age, must have peculiarly fitted him to be the recorder of their actions. Unlike the monkish chroniclers of an earlier period, he is a man of the world, who understands the social and conventional position and relations of the persons of whom he treats; and attaches to deeds, words, and men, their real and practical signification. Neither is he politically attached to any individual, or to any faction. His connexions were of a nature free from party spirit, and were alternately formed with those of every side of the question; by which means he was likely to acquire general knowledge and common impartiality; at the same time, that he was free from the feelings attending political apostacy. His impartiality, indeed, appears to have been, for the most part, singularly conscientious. For, not content with using uprightly the information he possessed, he considered it to be his moral duty as an historian to gather the accounts of every side of every topic concerning which he wrote. Accordingly, when about the year 1390, he had sat down in his own country to compile his history from the materials which he had so diligently amassed, he seems to have been stricken in conscience when he came to write on the war of Castile, with having received his information only from Spaniards, and Gascons, who were their allies. He was desirous of having Portuguese authority also for his narrative; and hearing that several of that country were at Bruges, he went thither to gather their account of the transactions in question. At Bruges he learns that a Portuguese knight, 'a valiant and wise man, and of the council of the king of Portugal,' has just arrived at Middleburgh in Zealand, on his way to Prussia, to join the war against the Turks. This knight, whose name was Juan Fernando Portelet, had been in the Portuguese wars; and received Froissart, who instantly went from Bruges to Middleburgh to converse with him, with great urbanity and openness. He furnishes the chronicler with ample information on the subject of these wars; and Froissart, whose delight at gaining this additional authority is most vividly expressed, returns to his country to finish his book. This forms the third of his complete work. About the year 1378 Froissart had obtained from Clement VII. the reversion of a canonry at

Lisle. But Clement dying in 1394, before this reversion had been converted into possession, Froissart gave up all hopes of ever obtaining it, and ceased to style himself "Canon of Lisle," which he previously had done in several places of his writings. After this time he calls himself "Canon and Treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay," which M. de Ste. Palaye supposes he obtained through the means of the Count of Blois, his constant friend and patron, to whom the lordship of Chimay belonged. A truce of four years having, in 1393, been concluded between France and England, Froissart determined to revisit the latter country, where he had not been for seven and twenty years. He went thither in 1395, and his account of his residence there is so characteristic, both of himself and of the court of Richard the Second, and the manners of the times generally, that, though the passage is long, I am tempted to give it in his own words:—

"True it was, that I, Sir John Froissart, (as at that time treasurer and canon of Chimay, in the county of Hainault, in the diocese of Liege,) had great affection to go and see the realm of England—when I had been at Abbeville, and saw that truce was taken between the realms of France and England, to endure four years, by sea and land. Many reasons moved me to make that voyage. One was, because, in my youth, I had been brought in the court of the noble Edward III., and Queen Philippa, his wife, and among their children, and other barons of England that were, as then, alive, in whom I found all nobleness, honour, largeness, and courtesy. Therefore, I desired to see the country, thinking thereby I should live much the longer, for I had not been there twenty-seven years before; and I thought, though I saw not those lords that I left alive there, that, at the least, I should see their heirs, the which should do me much good to see, and also to justify the histories and matters that I had written of them.

"For these causes and others, I had great desire to see King Richard, who was son to the noble Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine; for I had not seen this King Richard since he was christened in the cathedral church at Bordeaux, at which time I was there. And ere I took my journey, I had engrossed in a fair book, well illumined, all the matters of armours and moralities that in four and twenty years before I had made and composed. And I had this said fair book well covered with velvet, and garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the king, at my first coming to his presence. I had such desire to go this voyage that the pain and travail grieved me nothing. Thus, provided of horses and other necessities, I passed the sea at Calais and came to Dover, the 12th day of the month of July. When I came there, I found no man of my knowledge, it was so long since I had been in England; and the houses were all newly changed, and young children were become men, and the women knew me not, nor I them. So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover. It was on a Tuesday; and the next day, by nine of the clock, I came to Canterbury, to St. Thomas's shrine, and to the tomb of the noble Prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly. There I heard mass and made my offering to the holy saint. And there I was informed how King Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabouts. The king had a devotion to visit St. Thomas's shrine, also because the prince, his father, was there buried. And I thought to abide the king there, and so I did. And the next day the king came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies, and damsels. And when I was among them they seemed to me all new folks. I knew no person. The time was sore changed in twenty-eight years. And with the king, as then, was none of his uncles; the Duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester on other businesses; so that I was at first all abashed. For if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with king Edward, or with the prince, I had been well comforted—but I could see none such. Then I demanded for a knight called Sir Richard Stacy, whether he was alive or not. And it was showed me 'Yes,'—but he was at London. Then I thought use to the Lord Thomas Percy, great senechall of England, who was there with the king; so I acquainted me with him, and I found him right honourable and gracious. And he offered to present me and my letters to the king, whereof I was

right joyful; for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince as the king of England was. He went to the king's chamber, at which time the king was gone to sleep; and so he showed me; and bade me return to my lodging, and come again. And so I did; and when I came to the bishop's palace I found the Lord Thomas Percy ready to ride to Ospringe; and he counselled me to make, as then, no knowledge of my being there, but to follow the court. And he said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the king should be at the fair castle of Leeds of Kent. I ordered me after his counsel, and rode before to Ospringe. And, by adventure, I was lodged in an house where was lodged a gentle knight of England, called Sir William Lisle. He had tarried there behind the king, because he had pain in the head all the night before. He was one of the king's privy chamber; and when he saw that I was a stranger, and, as he thought, of the marchess of France, because of my language, we fell in acquaintance together. For the gentlemen of England are courteous, treatable, and glad of acquaintance. Then he demanded what I was, and what business I had to do in those parts. I showed him a great part of my coming thither, and all that the Lord Thomas Percy had said to me and ordered me to do. He then answered me and said how I could not have a better man, and that, on the Friday, the king should be at the castle of Leeds. And he showed me that when I came there, I should find there the Duke of York, the king's uncle; whereof I was right glad, because I had letters directed to him;—also that in his youth he had seen me in the court of the noble King Edward, his father, and the queen, his mother. Then, on the Friday, in the morning, Sir William Lisle and I rode together; and thus we rode to Leeds; and thither came the king and all his company. And there I found the Lord Edmund, Duke of York. Then I went to him, I delivered my letters from the Count of Hainault, his cousin, and from the Count of Ostrevant. The duke received me well, and made me good cheer, and said, 'Sir John, hold you always near to us, and we shall show you love and courtesy: we are bound thereto for the love of time past, and for the love of my lady the old queen, my mother, in whose court you were; we have good remembrance thereof.' Then I thanked him, as reason required. So I was advanced by reason of him and Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir William Lisle; by their means I was brought into the king's chamber, and into his presence by means of his uncle, the Duke of York. Then I delivered my letters to the king, and he took and read them at good leisure. Then he said to me that I was welcome, as one that had been and was of the English court, as on that day I showed not the king the book I had brought for him; he was so sore occupied with great affairs that I had, as then, no leisure to present my book. And to have counsel of these great matters the king had sent for the most part of the prelates and lords of England to be at the feast of Magdalentide, at a manor of the king's, called Eltham, a seven English miles from London. And when they had tarried at Leeds four days, the king returned to Rochester, and so to Eltham, and so I rode forth in the king's company.'

"On the road, Froissart, as usual, drains his companions of all the news he can extract from them; and gives a detailed account of the expedition into Ireland, and of the politics of the English court at that period. He does not, however, forget the 'fair book.' After remaining some days at Eltham, he says, 'On the Sunday following, all such as had been there were departed, and all their counsellors were departed except the Duke of York, who abode still about the king: and Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir Richard Stacy shewed my business to the king. Then the king desired to see the book that I had brought for him; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there, ready on his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair illumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two clasps gilt richly wrought. Then the king demanded of me whereof it treated, and I shewed him how it treated of matters of love; whereof the king was glad. And he looked into it and read it in many places; for he could speak and read French very well. And he gave it to a knight of his chamber, named Sir Richard Creadon, to bear it into his secret chamber.

"Thus I tarried in the king of England's court as long as it pleased me; not

always in one place; for the king oftentimes removed to Eltham, to Leeds, to Kingston, to Sheen, to Chertsey, or to Windsor, about the marches of London.'

"After his last return from England, Froissart retired to his chapter at Chimay, where he composed the fourth and last book of his chronicles. Under the year 1397 he mentions the death of his patron, Guy of Blois; and the whole concludes with the death of Richard II., in the year 1400. How long Froissart lived after this is uncertain; but I should think it probable that it was no great length of time—for so busy a spirit would scarcely have been stilled but by death. I should not think it likely that he would cease to write long before he had ceased to live. The year of his death, however, is not known—although the month is, viz. October; which is mentioned in the obituary of the collegiate church of St. Monegunda at Chimay. I transcribe from M. de Ste. Palaye the extract containing the 'obit' of Froissart, which he copies 'from a manuscript taken from the archives of the chapter of St. Monegunda at Chimay, in which are found the obits and pious foundations made to this chapter and other antiquities:'—'The obit of Sir John Froissart, born at Valenciennes, canon and treasurer of aforesaid church, which flourished in 1364, may have place here, according to his quality, as having been domestic chaplain to the renowned Guy of Chatillon, Count of Soison and of Blois, Lord of Avesnes, Chimay, and Beaumont, &c. who has also been a very celebrated historiographer of his time, and has written the wars and chronicles, and the most remarkable events from the year 1335 until the year 1400; according as he himself relates in divers parts of his history; and, more especially, in the fifty-first chapter of his fourth book, and as it is shown in the eulogium written in his praise in the following words:

"Cognita Romanæ vix esset gloria gentis,
Pluribus hunc scriptis nî decorasset honos.
Tanti nempe refert totum scripsisse per orbem,
Quælibet et doctos sæcla tulisse viros.
Commement alios alii, super æthera tollam
Froissardum, historiæ per sua sæcla ducem;
Scripsit enim historiam mage sexaginta per annos,
Totius mundi, quæ memoranda notat;
Scripsit et Anglorum Reginæ gesta Philippæ,
Qui, Gulielme, tuo tutia juncta toro.

HONORARIUM.

Gallorum sublimis honos et fama tuorum,
Hic, Froissarde, jaces, si modo forte jaces.
Historiæ vivus studuisti reddere vitam,
Defuncto vitam reddet at illa tibi.

"Joannes Froissardus, Canonicus et Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sanctæ Monegundis Simaci, vetutissimo ferme totius Belgii oppido.

"Proxima dum propriis florebit Francia scriptis,
Fania, dum ramos, Blancaque fundit aquas.
Urbis ut hujus honos, templi sic fama vigebis
Teque ducem historiæ Gallia tota colet,
Belgica tota colet, Cymæque vallis amabit
Dum rapidus proprios Scaldis obibat agros."

"The reader has now before him a connected outline of the life of Froissart, and can duly estimate his qualities, both good and evil. The latter, indeed, appear to have been rather errors and indulgences than positive vices, or they become so only in consequence of his profession. On the other hand, his talents and accomplishments—his extreme cheerfulness and good nature—his sense of justice as an historian—his gratitude to his friends, and his courtesy towards every one, are strictly merits of his own, not only not arising from, but mostly in contradistinction to, the general tone and spirit of his age. The instances in which that spirit operated disadvantageously upon him I have already noted with censure; it is, therefore, but just that I should give him his merited praise. It

is impossible, indeed, to turn over his volumes and trace him through the course of his stirring and romantic life, without, at the close, entertaining towards him feelings of great kindliness; perhaps not mingled with any very deep respect, but the more in consonance, probably, with his own character, though of an order less exalted, in consequence of this very want. But, in another point of view, the pages of Froissart afford subject for the weightiest reflection and speculation. They are the great mirror of the fourteenth century; the age generally throughout Europe of chivalry and the feudal system at their zenith."

His merits as an historian may now be appreciated. With such opportunities of knowledge and investigation, the accuracy of his information may be relied upon. His impartiality was extreme; he endeavoured always to hear both sides of a story, before narrating it; and, generally speaking, between princes and nobles he stood impartial. Still he is not without his defects. He had the imagination of a poet, and therefore, too greedily snatched at any thing which added interest to his tale, without sufficiently inquiring into its correctness. He was superstitious, in common with his age; he relates with great gravity stories of a talking bear, and of a marvellous spirit, "who brought tidings from all parts of the world." In reading the story of Orthon, we could not help thinking, that some of his friends, disposed to be waggish, had imposed upon his credulity. He prefers the romantic version of an incident, and contrives to give to those he relates great dramatic effect. These however are rather amusing foibles, and impart an agreeable flavour to his narrative.

The courtly Froissart, of course, thinks every thing of the nobles. In his eyes, a patent of nobility conferred almost every virtue on its possessor. Of the famous, or rather infamous Count Gaston of Foix, who by his great wealth and his largesses, acquired a reputation from the chroniclers of his time, which posterity has not sanctioned, and who completed a series of inhuman butcheries by the murder of his own son, this admirer of nobles, who had received abundantly of his gifts, says, "that in every thing he was so perfect, he cannot be praised too much; he loved that which ought to be loved, and hated that which ought to be hated." "He never had *miscreant* with him—(for with such terms as "miscreant" and "rascall people" he was accustomed to designate all who were not nobles,) he said many orisons every day; a nocturn of the Psalter, matins of our Lady, of the Holy Ghost, and of the Cross, and dirge every day." We may remark here, by the bye, upon the constant allusions, in an apparently reverential way, to the Creator, by the knights in the times of chivalry, and the regular observance by all, even the greatest cut-throats and most unprincipled robbers, of the formalities of religion. So powerful are the effects of early impressions upon religious ideas—and so frequently does an attention to the outward forms of religion survive its utter extinction in the heart.

His opinion of the English, among whom he had travelled much, and whose best society in those days he had seen, led him to say, that they were naturally covetous. However this may be, abundant evidence is furnished in his narrative, of that coldness and hauteur (which the politeness of a French gentleman led him, on one occasion, to designate as "aimable froideur") displayed in their intercourse with other nations, even when acting as allies, that invariably engender dislike and disgust.

Of the book itself, which we have placed at the head of this article, we must say a word. It contains a collection of narratives extracted from Froissart, which were supposed to be best calculated to exhibit his manner of writing, and at the same time illustrative of the most interesting events of his era. The text used is the translation of Froissart by Lord Berners, who was governor of Calais under Henry VIII.; the words however being in modern spelling. These stories are connected by prefaces and introductions, the whole illustrated by most valuable notes, in such a manner as to render them complete histories of the times. Of Mr. St. Leger, the accomplished author, we know but little. He appears to have held, quite early in life, a judicial station in England, which is seldom accorded but to an experienced head; and though associated always with the very highest in rank in that country, to have been perfectly free from aristocratic principles. He is said to have possessed in an eminent degree a hatred of all oppression, a contempt for all superiority merely adventitious, and an ardent love for the liberty and happiness of mankind. Abundant evidence of this is furnished in the book before us. We have seldom met with a work, which has given us a higher opinion of its author. A clear, nervous style, with just enough ornament properly to beautify it, and the fund of historic information conveyed in the true spirit of a liberal philosophy, which this production presents, should place Mr. St. Leger in the very first rank of English writers. We cordially recommend it to the notice of our readers, confident that their favourable anticipations will not be disappointed.

On the interesting period in the history of Europe, to which the "times of Froissart" conduct us, we must be permitted to dwell a little.

Modern history commences with the termination of the middle ages, viz., the close of the fifteenth century. Then chivalry, properly speaking, was at an end—knighthood was no more—tournaments, if they prevailed at all, were mere show—the relics and remembrancers of by-gone days. Letters had revived. The condition of the female sex had been ameliorated—the index and the result of the progress of Christianity. The different nations of Europe became connected, most of them intimately, by fa-

mily alliances, and all of them by treaties. The balance of power rose into a question, whose solution was a matter of moment to all—because having all greatly increased in wealth and importance, the several European kingdoms forming as it were a mighty nation, it was necessary for the independent existence and happiness of each part, that no one should attain a height of power which might render her dangerous to the rest. But at the period of which the chronicles of Froissart treat, we mean during the middle ages, the nations of Europe were, in a great degree, disconnected—many of them were not yet perfectly consolidated—the existence within their limits of powerful fiefs and dependencies, (in some instances, almost as large as the kingdoms themselves,) rendering them less dangerous to their neighbours, and confining their attention principally to their domestic affairs. The Crusades are not an exception to this general position, because they were rather the act of individual kings and warriors, than national enterprises.

In this period, however, of European history, may be traced the germ of those causes, which gave a face and a character to the politics of that part of the world for succeeding ages: the commencement of those family alliances, and the spring of those national hatreds and jealousies whose bitter waters overflowed for so many years, pouring destruction and desolation over some of the fairest portions of the continent. The age of chivalry was the cradle in which the infant strength of the powers of Europe was rocked; and the pranks which they played gave proof rather of juvenile spirits and vigour, than of manly discretion. The student, therefore, who delights to investigate and pursue the rise and progress of nations, and to dwell upon the gradual growth of the system of modern Europe, will peruse with interest the history of the middle ages. But there are other considerations which render the investigation pleasing. After the destruction of the Roman empire, thick darkness for ages covered the fair face of Europe. Savage hordes inundated the land; which relapsed into primeval barbarism. It was the work of years for civilization, with the slowest pace, to make any progress. Barbarous tribes were to expand into nations—and by the development of their powers, unaided by the vivifying breath of literature, to become half civilized. At this stage then, of their progress, the records of the middle ages present them to us. It was just anterior to the revival of letters. A few rays on the edge of the horizon, precursors of the great sun of literature, gave token of the day which was soon to dawn over a thitherto benighted continent—benighted in regard to all which constitutes the real supremacy of man, the culture of the powers of his mind.

Causes, too, in some degree natural, had begun to operate. The wants of men grew with their desires, which were nourished

by the gradual progress of the arts. These wants were to be supplied, and commerce offered the means. The exchange of commodities, the sight of new productions, stimulated enterprise, and led people to look beyond their own homes and country. Their knowledge and their wealth increased, and a spring was given to industry. A spirit of travel arose, which, in its consequences, enlarged greatly the knowledge of the period; enterprising men started for distant quarters of the world, and brought back with them an acquaintance with the customs and discoveries of foreign people, and communicated them to their own countrymen.

The rise of freedom, and of liberal institutions which argue the superiority of reason over mere brute force, and the birth of which may be clearly demonstrated in these times, will render them ever a subject of pleasing contemplation to the enlightened and humane mind. It is not our design to enter at large into this inquiry, interesting as it is; we purpose only to allude to a few of the causes. One, the most obvious and familiar, we need hardly mention—the discovery of printing. It increased the means of intellectual improvement, and liberated the people from debasing thralldom. Another, in the opinion of Mr. St. Leger, in the height of his anger against chivalry, was the invention of gunpowder. It *equalized* the means of fighting, and thus released the people from the tyranny of chivalry. And, we may add, although it has not made wars less frequent, yet it has rendered a battle less of a personal contest, in which success accrues to him of greater strength and more skill in arms, and thus abrogated the necessity of that close attention to warlike exercises, which absorbed all the time and attention, at least of every one who wished to be a soldier, and success in which conferred upon him so much power and importance. In the fervour of his enthusiasm, Mr. St. Leger has remarked, “To the invention of *gunpowder* and printing, indeed, may mankind trace all the freedom which they have enjoyed.”

On chivalry, and our author's opinion of it, we shall make a few remarks, presently; bad as it was, it however produced the good effect of eventually enlarging freedom. We have alluded to the impetus given to commerce by the increased wants and luxuries of the nobles, and of the beneficial effects accruing from extending trade. But the benefit did not stop here,—commerce gave birth to a new class of men, whose pursuits conferred on them a liberal turn of mind. The spirit of clanship, and the bond of mutual interest held the merchants together. They claimed and obtained privileges, which were accorded by the nobles from a desire of deriving the means of gratifying their luxurious wants. The merchants and tradesmen formed societies; commercial associations; which were powerful, numerous, and wealthy. They

became the second class in the nation, and were able to contend for their privileges with arms in their hands. The records of the middle ages are filled with these contests; which, though they were disgraced with much treachery and cruelty on both sides, and although self-interest may have prompted the burgher as well as the noble in his opposition, yet are subjects of deep interest as regards the growth of freedom, inasmuch as *it* was identified with the diminution of the privileges of the aristocracy, which swallowed up all the rights of the community. In reflecting upon this era, let us never forget the extent of our obligations to the humble but sturdy burghers, who, though deprived of any attraction from the charm of chivalry, fought the good fight of freedom, in asserting the privileges of our race.

In contemplating this whole subject of the advance of liberty, which, except in our own happy country, seems always to have been *in the opposition*, we were forcibly struck with the idea, which M. Ancillon has so beautifully stated, that *the people advance* in their knowledge of every kind, and, of course, in their rights, while the *aristocracy remain stationary*—Ancillon says: “The nobles look back on the past, and, in looking back on it, they often remain motionless; the other classes look to the future, and march on.”*

The subject of chivalry, forms, of course, the most prominent object of attention in every view of the middle ages; and although it is one which has been the theme of repeated discussions, yet the inherent interest of the subject prevents its ever becoming dry or unentertaining. We should not, however, advert to it here, notwithstanding this consideration, were it not that Mr. St. Leger has treated the institution under an aspect, in a great degree original, and which has strongly engaged our attention. The advantages of chivalry have been, more than once, elaborately set forth; but we have never yet seen its evils so glaringly and strongly portrayed as by our author.

“The feudal system was the parent and fosterer of chivalry.” The origin of the former is well known, and need not be here formally stated. Although it became one of the most artificial and complex of all systems of laws (for lawyers, in progress of time, favoured it with the aid of their powers of intricate reasoning), yet in its origin it has always seemed to us to be founded on plain and natural principles. Among barbarians, the only superiority is that of physical power: its main development is in feats of arms. Supremacy in war or warlike deeds gave authority and influence—and those to whose lot they fell, became instantly the leaders of their companions. A relation, then, of leader and follower was at once established; and the feudal system is

* *Pensées sur l'homme, ses rapports, et ses intérêts*; by Frederick Ancillon.
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built upon this relation and dependency. Being the substratum of government and the basis of the rules of property, it endured for ages the shocks of revolutions, the innovations and the sapping of time, and the slow but sure and healthy progress of civilization. Chivalry was its child—a monster of vigorous proportions and barbarous tendencies, untamed by any humane or polished virtues. It came forth in the days of Hugh Capet, who was the maturer of the feudal tenures, and stalked through Europe, her greatest curse, until the great fiefs were extinguished in the reign of Charles VIII. (The adventures of the Paladins, prior in time to Capet, have generally been considered fabulous.) The one and the other fell together.

Mr. St. Leger very properly remarks, that granting, in their fullest sense, the virtues of chivalry—and he admits that the picture as drawn by poets and romancers is very attractive—those very virtues could never be called forth, except in a state of the utmost misery in the bulk of mankind. The redressing of wrongs, the defence of the weak against oppression and injustice, particularly in the case of the female sex; this, abstractly speaking, highly honourable and praiseworthy occupation, to become the ordinary and irresponsible pursuit of an influential class of society, presupposes a state of violence, oppression, and total insecurity in the manners and customs of the age, and of miserable weakness, if not of positive tyranny in the laws themselves. That there existed abundance of cases to call forth the protecting aid of the knight-errant, is admitted by all; but the cause of this wretched state of society and of law, is conclusively shown to have been this very profession of chivalry, which has been supposed by so many to have been its only ameliorating feature. The outrages practised by the knights, and the miseries suffered by the people, meet us in every page of the records of the middle ages:—a hint or suspicion even, of the cause, is not to be expected from Froissart, or the writers of his stamp; to such they appear perfectly natural, and are narrated by them, among the ordinary and regular events of the campaign.

It would fill volumes to detail the examples of horrible barbarity practised upon each other and upon the wretched people, by even the most distinguished of the monarchs and nobles of that era.

We will here let our author speak fully for himself.

“Chivalry, as it is painted by poets and romancers, bears, it must be confessed, an aspect sufficiently attractive and picturesque. But I cannot but consider this as a fancy-piece, not a portrait; at least I have never been able to find its original in history. At the best, it can be regarded only as an Utopian theory, never reduced—if indeed it were reducible to practice. For a moment, however, I will grant the practical existence of the *beau truly idéal* of knighthood. And this appears to me to lead to a conclusion, which I do not recollect to have

seen drawn in the discussions I have met with on the subject. The virtues of chivalry, at their height, never could be called forth, except in a state of the utmost misery to the bulk of mankind.

"The relief of 'distressed damsels,' or, to speak in reasonable language, of women exposed to outrage and oppression—the righting of the wronged—the protecting of the weak against injustice, the defenceless against rapine and murder,—these deeds to be erected into the ordinary, yet private and irresponsible occupation of a large and dominant class of society, argues a preposterous existence of violence, cruelty, and bloodshed, on the one hand—of grinding poverty, outraged feelings, and total insecurity of life and limb, house and home, on the other.

"Alas! that such evils did exist, the whole course of the middle ages proves but too plainly. But so far from being in any degree redressed by the professors of chivalry, they were chiefly, if not entirely, inflicted by them. I shall not leave these facts to this general assertion; but I shall give, from Froissart himself, details from various portions of his history, to prove the outrages practised by the knights, and the miseries suffered by the people. It is to be borne in mind that Froissart never dilates upon such matters: they seem to him natural and ordinary; and he merely states their occurrence as part of the regular events of the campaign. I shall begin with the exploits of Edward III., on his progress through Normandy, previously to the battle of Crecy.

"It will be recollected that, on his own showing, Edward had not the shadow of a claim to the crown of France. The monstrous injustice of the cause, renders the iniquities committed in its prosecution doubly guilty. I find that, in the notice of the English power in Aquitaine, in the first volume, I have said that, of the earlier part of these wars, the English are 'highly and deservedly proud.' I beg to be understood to have there used the word 'deservedly,' strictly as applied to the military achievements of the period; and I regret that the turn of expression should be open to the possibility of doubt. For, so far from considering that portion of our history, matter justly worthy of pride, it has long appeared to me, that if our French wars, from Edward III's reign, to Henry V's., could be wholly expunged from our annals, we should get rid of a load of guilt, for which their glory is no payment. Nay, whatever glory we had in gaining our ground in France, was wrested from us, as we lost it. Unjust war is always deep guilt; what then is it, when carried on ferociously! How unjust this war was, the reader has already seen,—of the spirit in which it was conducted, the following, which is taken from the first portion of Froissart's history, will suffice, I think, as a sample. It is to be remembered that this part of his work was presented by himself to Queen Philippa, and that, therefore, the worthy canon would take exceeding good care not to set forth therein any thing which could be considered strongly condemnatory of her royal husband. But such things were not then so considered! The following is part of the narrative of the king's proceedings, on his first landing in Normandy—where there was no army to oppose him:—'Thus they set forth as they were ordained; and they that went by the sea, took all the ships that they found in their way. And so long they went forth, what by sea and what by land, that they came to a good town and a good port called Barfleur, the which, incontinent, was won, for they within gave up for fear of death. Howbeit, for all that, the town was robbed, and much gold and silver there found, and rich jewels. There was found so much riches, that the boys and villains of the host set nothing by good furred gowns.'

"'After the town of Barfleur was thus taken and robbed, without burning, then they spread abroad into the country, and did what they list, for there was nought to resist them. At last they came to a great and rich town called Cherbourg: the town they won and robbed it, and burnt part thereof.' 'Then they passed forth and came to Mountbourgue, and took it, and robbed it, and burned it clean. In this manner they burnt many other towns in that country, and won so much riches that it was a marvel to reckon it.' These and other doings, of the division of the army which went along the coast, are thus jauntingly related by Froissart, without the very least expression of blame.

"Meanwhile, the king sent out a sort of flying battalion, under Lord Godfrey, the marshal, to lay the country waste, coming back to the main body at night. 'The Lord Godfrey, as marshal, rode forth with five hundred men at arms, and rode off from the king's battéle a six or seven leagues, in burning and exilyng (laying waste to) the country, the which was plentiful of every thing: the granges full of corn, the houses full of all riches, rich burghesses, carts and chariots, horse, swine, muttons, and other beasts; they took what they list, and brought into the king's host.' The chapter following the above, begins with these memorable words:—'Thus by the Englishmen was burnt, exyled, robbed, wasted, and pillaged, the good plentiful country of Normandy.' Nothing can be more characteristic, both of the times and of Froissart, than this. He narrates circumstances, which, if they were paused on in detail, would make the flesh creep—in the pretty, gentle, general manner we have seen, without one word to prove that he does not consider them very virtuous actions. Here a large army lands in a country wholly unprotected. Edward comes announcing himself lawful king of that country—so that, of course, his only object should be to drive out the person whom he would designate as an usurper; and for this object he suffers his troops to lay waste the whole district, robbing the inhabitants of all their goods, burning their houses over their heads, and thrusting them on board their ships, for fear they would become rebels, if left behind! Truly, this was an amiable method of proving to the French people the benefits likely to accrue from the paternal government of Edward Plantagenet. From Froissart's mode of expression, an ordinary reader would not deduce half the miseries which befel these miserable people of Normandy. Saying, in broad terms, that a town, or a district, was exyled, pyllled, or even brent, sounds light, in comparison with the woes which do arise from a brutal and unbridled soldiery being 'let slip,' with the cry of 'havoc!' to excite their odious yet terrible fury, upon the peaceful inhabitants of a peaceful town. It is needless, I am sure, for me to draw any description of the scenes which must then have taken place; I *could* not do it, without making my book unfit to be generally read. With their attention thus drawn to it, my readers will sufficiently feel what such a state of things must have been, which the careless wholesale terms of Froissart may scarcely have given to their view, in its real degree of horror.

"It was to put a stop to, and punish these outrages, that Philip de Valois raised the splendid army which was destroyed at Crecy. Of the fighting of that battle we have just cause to be proud, merely as regards our conduct in the conflict; but it would be better for the real fame of England, if the name of a victory won in such a cause as that of Edward's claim upon France, and fought after a campaign of the robbery and destruction of defenceless people, such as that of which I have just spoken, were never again breathed. And yet, from our cradle, we are taught to chaunt the praises of 'our Edwards' and Henrys'!"

"I do not mean to impute any peculiar cruelty to Edward III. Such,—and this awfully adds to its horror, was the general mode of action of the time. These were the practices in which the principle of chivalry found vent!

"I am loth to dwell upon matters so painful, but I cannot omit the account of the horrors committed in Limoges, on its re-capture by the Black Prince. It is true he had great cause for displeasure. He had trusted the Bishop exceedingly, and he and the chief men of the town had delivered up the place to the French. 'The Commons' had done nothing; but, in those days of chivalry, they were always included in the punishment of their superiors, though never in their benefits or rewards. The following is Froissart's account;—and here the worthy canon is rather touched, and speaks in a tone of humanity:—'Then the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Guisard Dangle, and all the other with their companies entered into the city, and all other foot-men ready appparelled to do evil, and to pilage and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children, for so it was commanded them to do. It was a great pity to see the men, women, and children, that kneeled down on their knees before the Prince for mercy; but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none were heard, but

all put to death, as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet bought it dearer than the great personages, such as done the evil and the trespass! There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, and if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyes. For more than three thousand men, women, and children, were slain and beheaded that day: God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs.'

"It is impossible, I think, to read this without shuddering. And these are the times, and this is the system, we are bidden to admire! Horrible! I could cite numberless instances of devastations of the dreadful nature of those which I have quoted above; but I am unwilling to overload my page with horrors. These may serve as a sample of cruelty and ferocity. I will now proceed to an instance which occurred in a later part of the war, in which 'cruelty,' combined with my third ingredient 'treachery,' shone conspicuous. Froissart's narrative is spread over some space, I shall therefore condense it in my own words.

"Sir Robert Knolles, one of the most distinguished followers of the Black Prince, had become personally possessed of a considerable castle and its dependencies in Brittany, called Derval. When the war was renewed in the reign of Richard II., some of the severest fighting was again in unhappy Brittany. To besiege this castle came the Constable of France, (Du Guesclin)—Clisson, after him, probably, the most distinguished knight in these later wars, and who became his successor, and several other leaders distinguished for rank and prowess. Sir Robert Knolles was at this time absent from the fortress, which he had left in charge of Sir Hugh Brock. Sir Hugh was a gallant knight, and a skilful leader; and finding himself, after a long and brave defence, reduced almost to extremity, he entered into a treaty with the French, of a nature very common in those wars, namely, that if they were not relieved by the Duke of Brittany, or some other, with sufficient force to raise the siege, within two months, they would surrender. And it was further stipulated, that, if those succours did arrive, they must raise the siege without aid from the garrison, and that no additional aid whatever should be received within the fortress. In conformity with this treaty, Sir Hugh Brock gave up 'certain gentlemen, knights, and squires, for hostages in that behalf.'

"Sir Robert Knolles was, in the mean time, at Brest; which itself was besieged and hardly pressed; and he entered into a somewhat similar composition with the constable. He was relieved within the date fixed, yet would not Du Guesclin deliver, but carried them off prisoners. Faith, indeed, was so little kept by these chivalrous persons, who nearly always sought some paltry quibble or other whereby to escape their engagements, that being hostage must have been a service of peculiar danger. Sir Robert Knolles had no sooner put Brest in a state of good defence, than he came to his own castle of Derval—declared that his officers had exceeded their power in forming the treaty, and flung defiance in the teeth of the Duke of Anjou, who had succeeded the constable in the command of the siege.

"At this the Duke expressed great indignation; said the time was past at which the castle was to have been delivered up, and that, unless it were, he would put the hostages to death. Sir Robert Knolles declared that, without him or his permission, his men had no right to make the treaty—that, therefore, it was null, and he would not resign the castle, and that if the Duke of Anjou touched the hostages, he would retaliate upon divers French knights and squires whom he had prisoners. The Duke of Anjou had some personal claims upon the castle of Derval: the English commander held it as his own. What, therefore, could the lives of some half dozen knights and squires signify in comparison with this! Each was 'resolute,' and heaven knows each was 'bloody.' The castle was not yielded—the hostages had their heads cut off before the castle walls, and the French underwent the same infliction on a board thrust forth from one of the castle windows! The utter disregard of the lives of their brother in arms, evinced throughout the whole transaction, is something quite startling. Sir Robert Knolles's answer to the Duke of Anjou's herald, really would almost

seem to carry with it the impression that hostages were things not beings. 'Sir,' says the herald, 'know for truth that, without ye yield up the castle, your hostages shall be beheaded.' Sir Robert answered, 'by God, herald, for all the managing of your masters, I will not lose my castle; for, if so be that the Duke cause my men to die, I shall serve him in like case; for I have here within, both knights and squires prisoners, and though I might have for them an hundred thousand francs, I will save never a one of them.' Really this phraseology is matchless! 'I will serve *him* in the like case.' Serve whom! the Duke of Anjou? No—he is beyond your grasp—but how do you serve your faithful friends, who are lying in danger, as the pledges of your unredeemed faith, or that of your lieutenant, which you will not allow him to redeem? You slay four other innocent men to avenge the death of these three! This cannot but recall the celebrated remonstrance of the emissary whom Wolsey wanted to persuade to go on a dangerous mission, by the assurance that if a hair of his head were touched, a hundred heads should fall. 'Alas!' answered the wary diplomatist, 'not one of them would fit my shoulders.'

"It is quite clear that Sir Robert Knolles was in the wrong on the point in dispute. An officer left in command of a fortress liable to a siege, must have, and always has had discretion to make capitulations. How could Sir Hugh Brock send all the way to Brest, where Sir Robert Knolles himself was undergoing siege? Moreover the castle had had the benefit of the treaty; for, if the French had not forborne in consequence, it would have been taken long before. But the point which makes this case so very dreadful, is the idea which one cannot repel from the mind, that matters would not have been pushed to this awful extremity, if it had not been that both the besieger and the besieged had a personal interest in the castle contended for. 'I will not lose my castle,' quoth Sir Robert. That this extreme severity was not universal is proved in the event immediately preceding. Du Guesclin made some absurd pretence about Brest being fairly rescued—when, in point of fact, Lord Salisbury's relieving force was so strong, that he dare not come down and oppose it; and he therefore kept the hostages, but he did not put them to death. Of course, they would be ultimately ransomed. But this was only robbery—not murder. Such was the faith of the brightest ornaments of chivalry of those days—when their own interest was in one scale, and the lives of their brethren in arms in the other. Truly they deserve the epithets of generous and noble! For a matter of self-interest troth-plight is broken, and friends are devoted to the axe! But of instances of what may be thought perhaps a meaner treachery, the plenty is such that the only difficulty is where to choose."

But again—the cruelty of the age, and the sufferings of the people are exemplified in the same instances. In the war between the Gantois and the Duke of Burgundy, Grammont was taken by a party of the former, who showed little mercy to the inhabitants, as they were friendly to the Duke. The troops of the latter retook the town; and notwithstanding the loyalty of the citizens, pillaged the place thoroughly, even to the very churches; and held some of the chief men to ransom. Finding they were not strong enough to retain the possession, they abandoned it, first setting the town on fire. The next day, the Gantois returned, and gleaning what they could, sacked and burned what was left!

The insurrection of the *Jacquerie* is, no doubt, familiar to our readers. It was the outbreking of the passionate frenzy of the lower classes, goaded to madness by the oppression of the higher ranks, and the terrible rapine of the soldiery. The people were starving—and insurrection knew no limit for a time, to its ex-

cesses. The aristocracy, therefore, suffered without distinction of sex or person, whenever they fell into the power of the insurgents. The Dauphiness, the Dutchess of Orleans, and many other ladies and "damosels" took refuge in a strong hold in the town of Meaux. The Count of Foix, the celebrated Captal de Buch, and the Duke of Orleans, with a strong party went to their rescue, and entered the fortress. The countrymen assembled and besieged them, and it would seem, were not aware of their being so well provided with the means of defence. The knights and their company sallied forth, and set upon their assailants. Froissart proceeds:—

"And when these villains saw these men of war well-apparelled, issued out to defend the place, the foremost of them began to recule back, and the gentlemen pursued them with their spears and swords. And when they felt the great strokes, they reculed all at once, and fell, for haste, each on other. Then all the noble-men issued out of the barriers, and anon won the place, and entered in among their enemies, and beat them down by heaps, and *slew them like beasts*, and cleared them all out of the town, and slew so many they were weary, and made many of them, by heaps, fly into the river. Briefly that day, they slew of them more than seven thousand, and none had escaped, if they would have followed the chace any farther. And when these men of arms returned again to the town, they set thereon fire, and burned it clean, and all the villains of the town that they could close therein, because they took part with the Jacquerie."

How coolly the slaughter and burning of thousands is told! how perfect the absence of all sympathy in their fate!

So much for *cruelty*, which Mr. St. Leger considers one main characteristic of chivalry. We will give an instance of another trait, *treachery*, and which is by no means a singular example.

The Duke of Brittany was anxious, on account of a grudge he entertained against him, to *kidnap* the Constable de Clisson, and put him to death. So he resorted to the following device, "to the intent to entrap the Constable." The Duke was building a Castle; and he invited the Lord of Beaumanoir and others, and amongst them De Clisson, to pay a visit of inspection.—"They all agreed unto him," says Froissart, "because they saw him come so lovingly among them, for they thought none evil." So they mounted their horses and rode with the Duke to his castle of Ermyne. They alighted from their horses and entered. He proceeds:

"And the Duke led the Constable by the hand from chamber to chamber, and into every house of office; and made them drink in the cellar. Then the Duke brought them to the chief tower, and at the door thereof, he said to the Constable, 'Sir Oliver' I know no man on this side the sea that knoweth more in building than you do. Wherefore, I pray you, mount up the stairs, and behold the building of the tower. If it be well, I am content, and if any thing be amiss, it shall be reformed after your device. The constable, thinking none evil, said, 'Sir, with a right good will; please it you to go before, and I shall follow you.' 'Nay, Sir,' said the Duke, 'go your way up alone, and in the meantime I will talk with the Lord Delaval.' The constable went up the stairs, and when he was above and past the first stage, there were men in a chamber laid in a

bushment, and they opened the door, and some went down, and did shut the door beneath, and the others went up all armed to the constable. There they took him, and led him into a chamber, and fettered him with three bolts of iron. Upon this Froissart adds, with the utmost simplicity, 'If the constable were abashed at that time, it was no marvel.'"

The Duke issued orders for his execution, which were fortunately not obeyed. He was ransomed at an immense price.

Treachery, then, seems made out.

Ferocity also, as a trait of private character, belongs to chivalry. Private murders were of constant recurrence. We have already referred to Gaston's murder of his son. The piteous tale, too long to be extracted, is told by Froissart with all possible delicacy. The Count held in his hand "a little knife," which protruded "not an inch," and the point "entered a *little* into his son's throat," into "a certain vein," &c. It reminds us, Mr. St. Leger says, of what Rabelais says by way of a joke, here turned into such very sad earnest:—"Il sortit de sa pochette un gentil petit coutelet, dont il voulait m'escorgiller tout doucette-ment."

Similar in atrocity was this same Count's murder of Sir Peter Ernaut, whom having invited to converse concerning the surrender of a certain castle, and being answered like a brave and faithful man, he struck down with his dagger, and cast into a dungeon where he languished and died.

The factions of Orleans (or Armagnac, as they were indifferently called), and Burgundy are familiar to the historical reader. The Duke of Orleans was murdered by the Duke of Burgundy (Jean Sans-Peur, rightly so denominated, if it meant that he was afraid of the perpetration of no crime) in open day. They were cousins, and had previously sworn to mutual friendship, and cemented the tie by taking the sacrament together. It is known that this same Duke of Burgundy was in his turn murdered by the friends of Orleans in a manner almost equally unjustifiable. Jean Sans-Peur boldly justified himself: and it is a striking instance of the depravity of the times, that any could be found in a Christian world, who would openly take his part. Yet such were not wanting. The infamous *Jean Petit*, a Norman Cordelin, and other doctors, were found to say and to argue, not merely that the Duke was right in killing his rival, but that he would have been wrong if he had not done it. *Jean Petit* argued the question before the king, (the unfortunate Charles VI.) in full council, and concluded that Jean Sans-Peur had done a virtuous action. He grounded this upon the assumption, that the Duke of Orleans was a bad, unprincipled man, and that it was a great social duty, privately to slay any whom the assassinator may consider as acting against the interests of the state or church; and that his conduct deserves an increase of affections, honours, and wealth. This is a very slight sketch of

what has been very emphatically called, "a mass of hellish perversion of reason." The discourse is worth reading as a matter of curiosity, and displays some ingenious quibbling and more erudition—but when the reader pauses and reflects upon the end and aim of all this sophistry, he blushes for humanity.

Let us proceed with our catalogue.

Meanness is, not with much difficulty, discovered. As this is involved in all treachery and breach of faith, (which the knights scarcely ever pretended to keep) we would seem to be relieved from the necessity of separate proof. We will nevertheless quote an example.

Our readers have seen the figure the Duke of Anjou made in his contest with Sir Robert Knolles—he appears to no more advantage under the present head. He pillaged the provinces of which he was governor; and having become regent of France for a short period, exacted enormous taxes, the proceeds of which he carried off to Naples, whither he went upon being adopted by Joan of Naples. Nay, it is positively asserted, that he *stole* the jewels and treasures which Charles V. had left at Melun.

It is in the treatment of women, that chivalry is supposed to have earned its brightest wreath. Yet we doubt whether the praise is at all merited. That it encouraged profligacy, and carried it to an enormous extent, though it surrounded it with the glare and glitter of unreal refinement, is undoubted. The sophisticated system, known by the name of love, with its laws and its courts, is its fitting ornament and fruit. We will mention an instance by which our readers may judge of the morality of the code, though a conviction of its absolute ridiculousness absorbs all other feelings. At a court of love, held by the Countess of Champagne in 1174, it was solemnly decided, after long argument, that love could not exist between married persons! A not dissimilar decree was pronounced by Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne. A lady had entered into an engagement of love; and, upon forming an honourable marriage, refused her accustomed favours to her lover. She was adjudged by the viscountess to have been guilty of a *breach of faith*; because the supervision of the marriage-tie did not justly exclude her former love, unless she solemnly renounced all love whatever. Our author asks, with much meaning, what one would suppose the Viscount of Narbonne and the Count of Champagne thought of these decisions of their fair spouses?

But, aside from this encouragement to profligacy, which of course destroys all the charms of the sex by abstracting its delicacy, it is a false supposition, that women in that age were treated with peculiar deference. There was no deference rendered to them, founded on pure and intellectual feeling. Their treatment when they came in opposition to the selfish views of

these knightly personages, is full proof of this. How was the Dutchess of Orleans treated? who, from her sex, her rank, her condition—a foreigner marrying into France, and, of course, entitled to peculiar consideration from a gallant people—from her possessing almost every species of merit, we might suppose, would have received every delicate attention, and “that ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult.” Was this the case? Tenderly attached to her profligate husband, she was driven into seclusion, unpitied and unconsolated by him. After his murder, finding that his assassin was received every where with applause instead of curses, she died of a broken heart.

What was the course of conduct of Philip of Burgundy, denominated the Good? (from what cause we are ignorant, as goodness did not display itself either in his disposition or behaviour,) we mean in reference to his cousin Jacqueline of Hainault. He, perforce, dissolved her engagement of marriage with Duke Humphrey of Gloucester—then compelled her to select him as her heir—next made her promise never to marry without his consent, which he continually refused to accord; and finally, not waiting for her demise, ejected her from her dominions. Yet this Philip was, par excellence, a *prèux chevalier*: as willing, no doubt, as the thirty mad Bretons who fought thirty Englishmen, equally mad with themselves, to determine which had the fairest mistress, to engage in a similar combat. And this same Philip, whose delicate courtesy to the sex we have seen exemplified, was famous for all the fopperies of chivalry, and instituted one of its most celebrated orders. Yet the “Golden Fleece,” which emperors have been anxious to wear, and thought their persons honoured by its emblem, owns no purer origin, than the equally famous Order of the “Garter.” Both had allusions to mistresses—the former to the wife of a hosier at Bruges, and it was instituted, too, on the occasion of Philip’s marriage with Isabel of Portugal, in 1430. The festival was of unprecedented magnificence. It continued for eight days. All sorts of games, feasts, and dances, made Bruges one grand scene of festivity. In the court of the palace, three fountains, in the shape of as many different beasts, poured forth their contents. The lion spouted Rhenish wine—the stag, the juice of the grape of Burgundy—and the Unicorn, not to be out-done, redoubled its energies—at dinner-time, rose-water, to wash, flowed in a blushing stream; and, at other periods of the day, Malsmey, Muscat, and Hypocras, turn by turn, streamed forth to the multitude. The Duke out of compliment to his bride, adopted on the occasion, the motto, “*autre n’aurai*”—but from the expression of an old historian, we should judge it was but an empty

compliment. "Car," says he, "*pour les amours*, il ne s'en fit faute pas plus après qu'au paravant."

Charles Durazzo, another name of note, was even worse than Philip, in his treatment of female relations—for, Othello-like, he smothered Joan of Naples, between her pillows.

Let not our readers suppose that we have culled instances of peculiar atrocity from the conduct of extraordinarily bad men; far from it—examples could be infinitely multiplied. These were all distinguished personages—the élite of their age, in every respect. One of them was emphatically styled *the Good*. Nor, let us be thought to undervalue high-toned feeling—a nice sense of honour—manly independence—refined courtesy: in a word, true chivalry of thought and deed. Whether they have ever existed at all, or now exist in the nineteenth century, (we mean as general or national characteristics,) is not the question. We only deny their prevalence in the age, emphatically considered their peculiar era.

We have not yet contemplated the worst feature of the institution: the brutal disregard of persons not of noble blood or exalted rank: who, our author very properly says, constitute an incalculable majority of the human race. The money raised by taxes, a contemporary writer says, was wasted in dice, "*et alios indecentes jocos*." Petrarch, who visited Paris in 1360, says (in his "*Memoirs*," vol. 3, p. 541,) "nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighbourhood of Paris manifested every where marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds; the whole is a vast solitude." These, we are aware, are the natural and fatal consequences of all wars; but the bane of chivalry was, that it generated wars and dissensions of all kinds. It was a war-like institution—it presupposed war as the ordinary state of mankind; its regulations, nearly all, had an eye to this condition of things; the vassals' services were almost universally of a military nature; and it has been well remarked, "were not allowed to become obsolete from lack of use."

It is but a corollary from the last proposition, to say that it was formed exclusively for the welfare of the few; that it was the breath of the life of aristocracy. In these remarks, we identify chivalry with the feudal system. It established the dominion of property and of brute force—it continued their existence and their iron rule, by regulations which were every day acquiring the stamp and the veneration of antiquity, and whose admirable adaptation to attain their end, we cannot but admire, however much we may detest their principles. The "cheap defence" of nations was the ruin and the devastation of every one of them,—infinitely worse than that which is procured through the medium

even of standing armies. So early and so deeply rooted, then, was the Feudal System, the foundation as it was of property, of social relations, and of government itself, that we cannot sympathize with our author in his wonder, that it endured so long. "The dawn of civilization," he says, "was the date of the commencement of its decay." This is true enough; but civilization is a plant of very slow growth. The world is now about six thousand years old, and we are not yet what we should call *perfectly civilized*. "The moment," he continues, "mind gained the power of unlimited communication, that curse was shaken in its tyrannous sway." But the convulsions were necessarily many, and of long continuance before the old fortress fell. There were out-posts and towers unnumbered to be conquered, before the citadel was reached and carried. It seems to be almost the lot of man, that mind should always be trammelled by matter. The welfare of the many, which is undoubtedly the reasonable and the civilized doctrine, is nowhere the practical end of government, but in our own land. It is preached in other countries: and in some, even hosannas are sung to its praise; but it has yet, in all those nations, too many interested views to overcome, too many obstacles to surmount, arising from pride, luxury, antiquity itself, to permit it to be the ruling principle of action.

In England, the system has passed away very gradually; leaving, however, its traces yet in the laws of real estate. In France, it endured much longer—it was not until the revolution, that the exemption of the nobility from taxation was abolished. It finally required a convulsion of nature, the upturning and demolition of the whole frame of society, oceans of blood, and incalculable misery, to destroy the monster. With us, thank God, the curse never existed.

Our readers are now prepared for the conclusion to which, with Mr. St. Leger, we would come in our estimate of the "spirit of Froissart's times." "Treachery, ferocity, and cruelty—cruelty, ferocity, and treachery"—these constituted in his opinion, and we fully agree with him, the spirit of the era. He expresses the wonder, that the human race could pass through such a series of rapine, fraud, violence, and murder, without extirpation. The population of Europe was thinned to a degree, which is distressing to dwell upon. The history of these times, then, is not only for the causes we hinted at in the commencement of this article, an interesting, but is moreover a fearful subject of contemplation. We are too much accustomed to read of and regard events, without a true and philosophic estimate of their value and bearing—and from this, we think, the false notions of the age of chivalry have had their origin. Men look at the outside, and are attracted by the false glitter of objects; and thus are prevented from a close and essential examination. The

book under review is of a far different complexion; and is, therefore, we think, calculated to do, by its general diffusion, much good. The reason is enlightened, the moral sentiments corrected and improved, and the heart cannot but be benefited by it.

We cannot refrain, in this part of our task, from presenting to our readers, a passage which will exemplify Mr. St. Leger's mode of writing, and give in his own words, so much better than any we can employ, his sentiments on some of the points we have been considering. In page 315 of the 2d volume, he says:

"The Flemish towns of the middle ages gave rise and dignity, among the Transalpines, to the commercial spirit. The northern parts of Europe owe to them, even surrounded as they were by all the rapine and ignorance of the feudal barons, the existence of the useful arts, and the cultivation of a free spirit. Bruges, and Ghent, and Brussels, and other towns of the low countries, were the most advanced of any portion of Europe north of the Alps. While England and France were spreading and enjoying the advantages of 'those monstrous mummies of the middle ages,' chivalry and the feudal system, the trading towns of the low countries and of Italy were advancing in all the arts of cultivated life—of intellectual superiority—of physical comfort. Had it not been for them, we might still have been wrapped in our untanned skins, with rushes and filth struggling for predominance on our floors, and the diseases incident upon dirt and rude living paying us a visit almost every year. Let it never be forgotten, that to the burghers of these towns, we owe the art of printing, the revival of painting—the discovery of the mariner's compass, with all its attendant train of benefits—a new world, and a passage by sea to the east. These we owe to the traders of Flanders and of the Italian cities. For what are we to thank the feudal barons of France and England? Ignorance, craft, cruelty, and superstition were all the seed they sowed, and the crop was proportionately barren. They produced, however, a great number of very respectable 'robbers and pyllers,' fellows whose merits consisted in the bullying bravery of highwaymen, combined with something less than the honesty of a modern pickpocket. Ignorant and barbarous themselves, they seized 'routes of mules' laden with the produce of other people's industry; and *these* are the sort of men whom we are told to admire, duly despising the race who did no more for humanity than to confer on it all that we at this day consider as giving to it value, and refinement, and beauty. It is not too much to say, that we owe all these to the merchants of Bruges and of Venice, of Ghent and of Genoa, of Brussels and of Florence. As for the knights and barons, they could neither read nor write; they could only give and receive dry blows and foul language.

We will give, in Mr. St. Leger's language, the views he has deduced from a consideration of the facts we have presented. They are worthy of attentive perusal:—

"Such are the facts regarding chivalry, as we find them detailed in history. What are the results? Exactly what might be supposed. The misery of the people was such as it is most awful to contemplate. The exactions, of all kinds, of the soldiery, had become an organized system of plunder. 'Pour la plupart,' says Villaret, of a period somewhat later, 'se faire guerrier ou voleur de grand chemin, signifioit la même chose:'—and the remark was just as applicable in the first as in the second English wars; witness the power to which the companions had risen, and the outrages of all kinds which they committed. Mr. Hallam, who, in his work on the middle ages, has not shown himself by any means prejudiced against chivalry and feudalism, bears ample testimony not only to the misery of the people, but to the tyranny and heartlessness of the nobles as its cause.

"Alas, alas! will kings ever learn that their game of war is the bane of the rest of mankind!—that what is 'sport to them, is death to us.' What was the object of the war, which brought such accumulated misery on so fair a portion of their globe? Was it any international quarrel? Was it any point at issue between the people of France, and the people of England? No. In those days, the people were considered only as being born to serve the great—to bleed, to suffer, to die—to endure poverty, and outrage and wrong, for matters in which they had no concern, for persons whom they knew only by such deeds as these! And are we to be led by any flimsey foppery about knights and dames, 'the peacock and the ladies,' to approve of a system whose fruits were those I have shown? Is our heart to beat high at the sound of the trumpet of chivalry, and not to feel one pang for all the humble sorrow, all the lowly wretchedness, for which that chivalry was the cause? No! I dare hope that if these were the facts dwelled upon, instead of being thrown into the shade, if this true substance replaced the false shadow which, in our very childhood, is held up before our eyes,—I dare hope that there is enough sober sense, and right feeling in the world, to make us turn with mingled scorn and loathing from the image of chivalry, which, as in the fables of monkish superstition, is embraced, as it is seen, decked in smiles and beauty, and gay and rich apparel, but which is shrunk from with a sick shudder, when the glamour falls from the eyes, and the disguised fiend is beheld in the nakedness of its real deformity. It is not in a work like this, that it would be fitting to discuss, at large, a matter so weighty and so intricate as the Feudal System; but I must be permitted to say a few words concerning it, as regards its influence on the period of which I have been treating. It appears to me, I confess, and I think I am borne out by history, to be a form of government peculiarly calculated to generate wars and dissensions of all kinds. Indeed, this would seem to have been worked up in the very warp and woof of the system itself. For its provisions may be said to presume, that war is the natural and ordinary condition of mankind, and peace the rare and comparatively insignificant exception. Nearly all the services to be rendered by the vassal to the lord are of a military nature; and they were by no means allowed to become obsolete from lack of use. The regulations also, of this complex institution, were so vague and imperfectly known, as to give rise to continual dissensions. They had a peculiar influence upon the wars of the English in France.

"The quarrel of Robert of Artois with Philip de Valois, arose directly from a disputed succession to a fief—and this may be said to have put the match to the train which caused this general explosion. The contest for the succession of Brittany, which gave a new turn to the war, was again of the same nature. Nay, the whole series of disputes which arose from the lack of male issue to the sons of Philip the fair, tends to prove in what an extremely loose and inaccurate state the most important laws of feudal inheritance were left. There were other anomalies and contradictions inherent to the system, some so striking and extreme, that they would be even farcical, were it not for the oppression and bloodshed they produced. The nominal right of suzerainty, from which most of these evils sprang, existed, like nearly all rights of the period, only when might was on the same side. The kings of Scotland did homage to the kings of England for their crown, when they were weak, and could not help it; when they were strong, they set them at defiance. So the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy—so the Kings of England—to the Kings of France. And one of these quarrels, which were repeatedly recurring, cost the lives of many thousands of human beings!

"The Feudal System also was the parent and fosterer of chivalry. As the one rose, so did the other; and they declined together also. There is little chivalry, properly so called, before the days of Hugh Capet, the maturer of the feudal tenures—unless we are to attach belief to the fables of the Paladins; and it scarcely survived the extinction of the great fiefs under Charles VIII. Modern history (i. e. from the termination of the middle ages, the end of the fifteenth century) treats but little of knighthood. The tournaments, &c. after that time, were merely 'make believe.' They showed plainly the reality was not there.

How well the feudal system deserves of mankind, as the propagator of such a child as chivalry, I have already striven to show. Above all, the feudal system was formed exclusively for the welfare of the few, to the total neglect of that of the many. The rich and nobly-born, were the only persons who seem to have been recognised in the code—the poor being merely regarded as beasts of the field, whose existence was to be turned to the greatest possible advantage to their lords. Nor was this confined to the ‘working’ of the system; terms of the most abject scorn were for ever in the mouths of the lordly, with reference to the low. Insult was lavishly added to injury: they were ground to the earth, and then scoffed at because they were so. The wonder is, that the feudal system could endure so long. But the first dawn of civilization was the date of the commencement of its decay. The moment mind gained the power of unlimited communication, that curse was shaken in its tyrannous sway. With us here, in England, it passed away by degrees;—but, alas! it has still left behind it remains that most hurtfully affect the tenure of real property; and, which is far worse, its odious spirit may still be traced in some of our general laws, and occasionally in their enactment and administration.

“In most things, however, thank Heaven, it is utterly extinct. In France, its effect was much more lasting: for the exemption of the nobility from taxation, which continued up to the revolution, cannot but be considered as the direct off-shoot of feudalism. But it is now more thoroughly done away than with us: for having undergone the terrible means of the destruction of abuses, which the French Revolution proved, our neighbours have at least had the wisdom to take advantage of the clearness, to accomplish the end—viz., the establishment of sound and wise regulations, in lieu of that which is gone. Their laws are now common to all France, (nearly every province before had its peculiar feudal customs,) and they are on the whole just, besides being clearly arranged, and easily accessible. I shall conclude these observations upon Froissart’s Times, by noticing the origin of the spirit of national animosity between France and England, which took rise then, and which only now is on the wane—but that, I hope and believe, most rapidly. Nowhere is this hatred more strongly to be traced, than in the French writers who treat of this period. The victories of Crecy and Poitiers must, certainly, be sufficiently galling to a people so distinguished for military pride. But one would think that the length of time which has since elapsed—the great change which has taken place both in the art of war, and in the people composing the contending parties, would have assuaged the extreme soreness which is displayed by some of their historians. I say more;—the glories of Du Guesclin, and of Dunois, ought to have proved a fully sufficient consolation for the triumphs of the Black Prince, and Henry V. Indeed, for my own part, I cannot but regard the glory of the former, especially of Du Guesclin, as the more really great. Both at Poitiers and at Agincourt, and, in some measure, at Crecy also, the English army had got into a desperate scrape, out of which they most gallantly fought their way: but that is no excuse for their commanders having led them into it. Now, the victories of Du Guesclin were part of a continued and digested system for the expulsion of the English; and though it, perhaps necessarily, was not attended with any such brilliant achievements as our celebrated battles, it accomplished its end thoroughly.

“The same may be said of the wars which ended in our final expulsion from France under Henry VI. The French commanders went on steadily and skilfully, and beat us in detail. In this instance, we had not won the country by arms. Agincourt had no other effect than to open the road of retreat to Calais to Henry’s army. His successes in France began at a considerably later date—were owing, at the first, to his understanding with the Duke of Burgundy (the infamous Jean Sans-Peur,) and, in their extent, wholly to his alliance with the Duke’s son, Philip, and with the Queen Isabel of Bavaria. He had France given to him; he never won it. On the other hand, in the following reign, in despite of the excessive embarrassment of the government, and distresses of the country, the French at last made head against us, and, finally, fairly beat us out.

“It was, probably, the extreme duration, as well as the pro-focis character of this contest, which engendered a feeling so much more than ordinarily bitter.

The constant contention for upwards of an hundred years—the deep injuries inflicted—the deep injuries suffered—no doubt originally caused a hatred, the subsequent permanency of which has been equally surprising, melancholy, and certain. I say it is surprising, on account of the long peace (speaking in general terms,) which subsequently existed between the two nations.

"It is a fact but little attended to, that, with the exception of occasional descents on their coasts from time to time, there were no wars between France and England, from the cessation of hostilities in the reign of Henry the VI., till after the Revolution; no wars, that is, of any considerable duration, and in no degree of the character of those which took place both before and since. But the deep feeling of national animosity was still cherished in the hearts of both nations. Peace for a succession of ages was not sufficient to wash out the rancour which had been generated by the crimes and miseries of one. This, in itself, sufficiently proves their intensity and extent. This feeling by no means strongly existed before these wars. The English aristocracy were of French origin, and held themselves scrupulously aloof from those of Saxon descent. They spoke the French language; which was also used in all our public acts. This very point of language, indeed, is an index to the date at which the complete disunion I am speaking of supervened. Under Edward III., French was first discontinued in most public matters; and Henry V., upon his setting out on his expedition to France, ordered the Historiographer of the order of the Garter to record the deeds of the knights, in English instead of French, which had hitherto been the custom. The general intercourse of the two nations, also had, before these times, by no means been marked by that individual ill-will, which afterwards attained such a height. They were continually drawn together for purposes of trade, and no extraneous causes of animosity had arisen. The wars between the countries, were not of long duration, and left no venom behind them. How different from those of which Froissart is the historian! Their poisonous influence had scarcely yet worn itself out. But we are now—and we should rejoice at it—arrived at an age of the world, when it is no longer considered a mark of being good citizens of one state, to be eminent in hatred for those of another. In conformity with the spirit of our times, our contests now are only of rapidity in the advancement of science, of letters, of the arts, of manufactures, and commerce—in a word, of *civilization*. Mutual victories in this field will confer mutual benefits, will generate mutual good will—instead of spreading desolation where there was plenty, and planting hatred and rancour in the room of fellowship and peace. To these issues has the advance of knowledge tended.

"It has put an end to old animosities, and is fast drawing a veil over their former existence. Such are its true tendencies; it proves the folly, as well as the guilt, of the feelings of enmity, and the wisdom as well as the virtue of good will.

"My readers have now before them a picture of the most flourishing age of chivalry. It is ill-favoured; but it is true. Its deformity arises from the features of the original, not from the unfaithfulness of the painter. I have expressed myself strongly on the subject, both from a regard to truth generally, and from a firm and conscientious belief that the errors which are common upon these points, possess, even in the present day, a lingering evil influence on the notions with regard to civil policy, of I fear, not a few of those upon whom it is most hurtful that it should act. Assuredly, it never can tend to good, to colour and flatter a system which leads to results such as I have pointed out—to make blood-shed and ravage appear amiable; to hold up cut-throats and plunderers as the objects of our esteem and imitation. I may be accused of prejudice against chivalry; but I cannot admit that to be a prejudice which is in fact an opinion that has sprung wholly from a knowledge of its effects as a system, and has grown exactly in proportion as that knowledge has increased. Even in the researches necessary to this work, my dislike to the 'spirit of' these 'times,' has risen into hatred, and that again into abhorrence. And I am convinced that if any of my readers should be induced, by the samples which I have here culled from our old historians, to turn to the original volumes—the same causes will operate upon them, the same effects which they have had upon me."

We purposed to give a slight notice of each of the interesting subjects embraced in the volumes before us. The wars of Edward III. and the Black Prince, the border feuds with Scotland, the notice of Bajazet I., and of the different members of the house of Burgundy, are all worthy of separate attention. But our limits do not permit this extended survey; and we shall therefore confine ourselves, in what we may further say in the present article, to a brief sketch of the "Companions," or "Companies of Adventure," or "Associations of Free Companions," as they were indifferently called, who constitute one of the most curious features of the fourteenth century. Their history will exemplify, most powerfully, the justice of Mr. St. Leger's remarks, and place in a striking manner before the reader, the miserable situation in which the people were in those times—illustrating, too, the truth of the observation of the historian, Villaret, that, "pour la plupart, se faire guerrier ou voleur de grand chemin, signifioit la même chose."

The "Free Companions" are first met with in history at the peace of Bretigny, in 1360: that is, then first distinctly and separately known as such. The employment of mercenaries was of a much earlier date, and arose directly from the prevalence of the Feudal System. Our readers are aware of the many degrees of subordination to which that system gave rise—and of the universal tenure, that the vassal was to serve his suzerain in war. Now, as these wars were almost uninterrupted, it soon became the practice to limit the service as to duration, and permit the vassal either to find a substitute, or pay a pecuniary compensation in lieu of personal service. Those who chose to serve beyond the specified term were paid: and there were others who engaged originally, in consideration of being paid, without any reference to the duration of feudal service; these were called *soldiers*, or *mercenaries*—(terms originally synonymous.) They composed the best troops in Henry II's armies. Being commonly foreigners,—as soon as the war was over in which they were engaged, they passed into some other service, where they could get the best pay, or the opportunities of plunder appeared most inviting.

The system, however, was not fully matured, until the wars between England and France, in the fourteenth century. Many causes before that time prevented the union of these free gentlemen of fortune. The crusades (properly speaking) which flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, opened a vent to all the wandering spirits of Europe, who wanted either to get money, or expiate their sins, or fight for the mere love of warlike adventure. Thousands, therefore, to the great relief no doubt of some countries in Europe, found their graves in Palestine. After the crusades were over, the German mercena-

ries chiefly engaged themselves in the quarrels of the Italian States: and there, when peace occurred, they associated themselves, and obtained the appellation of *Condottieri*. Men of similar tastes, in the British Isles, in France, Spain, and the Netherlands, had full occupation in the wars carried on from the time of Edward III. to that of Henry VI., (a period of about one hundred years,) for the possession of the crown of France. The contests, too, between Castile and Portugal, and in Castile herself, in Brittany and Flanders, left but little cause to any to complain of the want of something to do in the way of their profession. The peace of Bretigny, which gave promise of being lasting, seemed to be likely to put a stop to business for a considerable time; and these mercenaries, anticipating an end to their lucrative trade, and having arms in their hands, determined not to lay them down, but rather to carve out work for themselves. They therefore formed themselves into companies, and began "to exercise the impartiality of general robbers." It was a stipulation in the treaty between Edward III. and the French king, that the former should, if necessary, join his endeavours to those of the latter to restrain the excesses of the army about to be disbanded. These kings had encouraged them, and their provinces bore the penalty of nurturing such a set of ruffians.

Many of the fortresses and strong holds in France were garrisoned by these men, some of whom absolutely refused to surrender them; and the troops of those who did, scattered themselves about "to do as they list." Froissart says, "they had so learned to pyll and to rob, that they thought to return into their own countries, was not to them profitable;" and further, they might have suffered inconvenience, "from the villain deeds that they were accused of there." They elected leaders, who though brave men, were generally the worst; and little by little, having previously agreed among themselves, they assembled on the borders of Burgundy and Champagne. These "late comers," as they were then called, immediately set to work, and surprised and stormed a fortress called Joinville, which contained much "rich goods within," that had been deposited there by the country people, as in a place of safety: one hundred thousand francs was the amount of their plunder in this fortress. This they divided, and making Joinville their head-quarters, overran the surrounding country. Having devastated this part of the kingdom, they passed into Burgundy, first selling the fortress to the country people for twenty thousand more francs. Their numbers increased with their success, till in 1361 they amounted to sixteen thousand fighting men. Sir Seguin of Battefoil was their chief leader, having under his immediate command two thousand warriors. The Holy See was then at Avignon, to which place it had been transferred, and these pious fellows

determined to pay the pope and cardinals a visit. Its nature will presently be seen.

The King of France became then justly alarmed, and assembled a fine army, which he entrusted to his cousin, Lord James of Bourbon, for the purpose of destroying these marauders. Hearing of the king's intentions, and confident in their strength, the companions marched to meet Lord James, and the battle of Brignais was fought on Friday, in Easter week, 1361. Lord James, his son, and nephew, with many other distinguished men, and the flower of the French forces fell in the battle. They were completely defeated. The consternation may be imagined, and full opportunity was given to the companions for a time to pillage, rob, and ransom at pleasure. They made abundant use of their license.

Their contemplated visit to Avignon was now resumed. It was for the avowed object of putting the pope and cardinals to ransom. The hardy wickedness of these robbers in designing such a scheme, and the weakness of the government where such a plan could be carried into execution, are fully exemplified. His holiness, aware of their intention, published a crusade, with absolution of sins to all who would take part in repelling these marauders, and rescuing the head of the church from indignity and outrage. Some few assembled, but perceiving that their pardons were to be their only reward, they soon separated, and the pontiff and his cardinals were left at the companions' mercy. The Marquis of Montferrat was then at war with the Visconti, Lords of Milan, and was anxious to procure assistance in the contest. The pope, with the ingenuity for which most of them have been remarkable, availed himself immediately of this circumstance, and persuaded them to pass to the south of the Alps, under the marquis's guidance, and with the douceur of an 100,000 florins. These fellows, knowing that they had reaped a full harvest in that part of the country, wisely determined to go, clothed as they were, in addition to the money, with the papal benediction and absolution. They were known in Italy by the name of the White Company.

Many, however, still remained in France, which they were accustomed to call "their chamber," set aside for their especial use. Employment was given to them in the war between Charles, King of Navarre, and King John of France—in which the Captal of Buch led a considerable number of the Gascon and English companions as auxiliaries of the former, while Du Guesclin commanded those on the French side. The battle of Cocherel, gained by the latter, decided the war, and the Companions were again at leisure.

The name of Du Guesclin, associated as it is with these free companies, induces us to pause for a moment to ask our reader's

attention to him. This notice is proper, not merely because he was one of the most distinguished men of his day, but from the circumstance of his having been himself originally a mere captain of these companions of adventure.

His father was of a good family but of decayed fortunes. The young Bertrand showed his pugnacious qualities early in life, for it is said, that he was constantly at fisty-cuffs with the young peasants around the chateau, and was often beaten to a jelly. He soon entered into the occupation of a man at arms, and was present at all the warlike sports of the neighbourhood, supplying himself with any arms that came in his way. In the wars of Brittany between Charles of Blois on the one side, and the English and De Montfort on the other, he gathered together a company of adventurers, and ranged himself on the side of the former. His courage and his skill, particularly in the famous defence of Rennes against the Duke of Lancaster in 1357, attracted the favourable notice even of his adversaries. He continued in Charles's service till the peace of Bretigny, and then entered that of the French king John. On the breaking out of the war with the King of Navarre, alluded to above, we have seen the part Du Guesclin took, and the success which followed his conduct. He was rewarded with the county of Longueville; and soon after sent to the assistance of his old master Charles of Blois in his contest with De Montfort. The brave Sir John Chandos led some English auxiliaries to the aid of the latter, and the star of Du Guesclin for the first time paled before that of an antagonist. In a battle which ensued on the breaking out of hostilities, the brave Breton was defeated, became prisoner to Chandos himself, and his master, the Count of Blois, was killed. The battle of Aurai, in which these events occurred, is remarkable for having been conducted with nearer approach to military tactics on a large scale, than any which had yet been fought in the middle ages. The Companions, (for our notice of them is not forgotten) of course took part in this contest; and that which decided the claim upon the dukedom of Brittany, being now at an end, "Othello's occupation" was again gone—the adventurers were idle and Du Guesclin in captivity. Fortunately for the country in which they were, and unfortunately for that to which they were about to go, the war broke out between Don Pedro of Castile and his bastard brother, Henry of Transtamare, for the crown of that country. The pope had taken the side of Henry, who was anxious to engage the assistance of Du Guesclin and his adventurers—and Don Pedro applied to the Black Prince for his powerful aid, who had himself a commanding influence over many of the companions. Between the two, therefore, France was rid of numbers of these ravagers. Du Guesclin, we have seen, was a prisoner, and Chandos demanded one hundred thou-

sand francs for his ransom—forty thousand were paid by the French king, the remainder by the pope and Henry. How the pope was rewarded will be presently seen. The exhortation Du Guesclin used to the Companions to induce them to join him, is worth transcribing. "My friends," he said, "we have done enough, both you and I, to damn our souls; and you can even boast of having done worse than I; let us do honour to God, and forsake the devil." This, coupled with the promise of two hundred thousand francs from the King of France, and a temptation held out by Du Guesclin, of which even he should have been ashamed, induced them to assent to his offer. The temptation was, to pay another visit to the pope and cardinals at Avignon! Our readers have already seen what that meant. Thither, then, Du Guesclin led them: he demanded two hundred thousand francs and absolution! They resisted "threats of damnation and promises of paradise." The pope wanted to compound—he offered as much absolution as they pleased, if they would excuse the money. Du Guesclin told the cardinal who came with the offer, "my fellows might, perhaps, make a shift to do without the absolution, but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope, (seeing he could not help himself,) levied the money from the inhabitants of Avignon, which the Companions objected to, thinking the pope and cardinals should pay it out of their private purses. The money, however, was accepted. They were blessed and sent on their journey—and the best of the joke is, that the journey on which they were bound was to dethrone Don Pedro, because he was a rebel to "holy church!"

At the great battle of Najara in Spain, the genius of Du Guesclin sank a second time before that of Chandos, who commanded under the Black Prince; and he became again a prisoner. He was however ransomed, and made Constable of Castile by King Henry. After the Prince's departure, it is known, affairs took a different turn, and Pedro was deposed and killed. Bertrand returned into France upon the breaking out of the war between the French and English, and was made Constable of France by Charles V. He commenced a career of uninterrupted success and glory, which continued until his demise. He died, with the firmness which had always marked his character, and was buried with the honours of a son of France. A simple inscription was placed on his tomb, concluding with the words "Priez Dieu pour lui."

Many of the companions still remained; and not a few found their graves in Africa in the crusade against the Moors in 1389, 1390. Numbers, however, refused to go there; and notwithstanding the general discredit into which they had fallen, and the greater power of the monarchs of Europe to restrain their excesses, they persisted in declaring "they must live," which

our author says, they seemed to think, consisted in denying the privilege to every one else. Under Aymergot Marcel, they made some headway, but after his defeat and death, their power was much broken. When fire arms were invented and came into general use, the system of war was in some degree changed, and the Companies lost much of their formidable character. By the time of Louis the XI., they were almost extinct.

The Companions are the origin of standing armies, and the paid soldiery of modern times—and therefore objects of interest. The chief sample of such, in times nearer our own, may be found in the thirty years' war in Germany—and we need hardly call to the mind of our readers, the striking picture of such a modern adventurer presented by the immortal *Dugald Dalgetty*.

ART. II.—*Documents communicated to Congress by the President, at the opening of the Second Session of the twenty-second Congress, accompanying the Report of the Secretary of War.*

THESE documents exhibit our military establishment in all its important details. A similar exhibition is made at the opening of each session of Congress, combining reports from each military department, and the letter of the Secretary of War to the President, presenting a general view of the past, and such suggestions as arise from a consideration of the future. Perhaps there is no institution connected with our government, that more properly demands this annual review. A military establishment is justly regarded by republics with jealous watchfulness. Our own experience has doubtless much allayed this feeling in the United States. Our army, besides being of an insignificant strength compared with the physical force of the country, and so detached and scattered as to be mere maniples of men, has been so frequently resolved into its original elements of citizenship, and has at all times so mingled with our social institutions, as to appear a homogeneous part of the grand community, and only a better regulated and more effective body of militia. Still, however, it is that formidable engine of power, which has heretofore been so largely productive of evil to the liberties of the world—that most perfect organization, and massive concentration of human energies, which is still somewhat portentous under its most benign aspect;—and a sound policy and wise forecast would dictate, that it should ever be subjected to the wholesome restraint of a severe and frequent scrutiny.

Notwithstanding the instructive lessons left by the revolution,

we entered on the war of 1812, in a state of extreme inefficiency with respect to all the administrative departments of military service. An utter waste of millions was the consequence. Experience, however, did not again teach in vain. Under the presidency of Mr. Monroe, and the secretaryship of Mr. Calhoun, a new era was formed in our national defence, the beneficial influences of which will continue to be felt as long as we are a free nation. Our present system of accountableness and responsibility was then established. The reports which are found among the documents we have alluded to, show its operation and efficacy. From that period, the War Department has held a new rank in the cabinet, and assumed a corresponding elevation in popular opinion. Previously, it had been regarded merely as the head quarters of the army.

During the last war, and for a few years subsequent, defalcations and defaults were of common occurrence. The guarantee of bonds became a mere shadow, and enactments, giving summary process, or the power to anticipate the slow determinations of the law, added but a feeble security. Where large sums, without regard to the immediate calls of the service were lavishly distributed, and responsibility was allowed to postpone a settlement almost indefinitely, every opening was left to fraud, strong temptations were held out to cupidity, and negligence was encouraged by impunity. The establishment and strict enforcement of a few simple rules, converted this wastefulness and irresponsibility, into economy of disbursement and punctuality of settlement. Moneys are distributed only on regular and specific estimates, which show the objects and extent of the anticipated expenditure; and any omission to render an account at the close of each quarter, or three months, leads to an immediate investigation, which arrests the threatening default on the threshold. The amount issued being proportioned with all practicable exactness to immediate wants, is seldom large, and the necessity of rendering frequent accounts, leaves no scope for malversation, or even for carelessness. The hazards attending the disbursement of public funds, are, under the present system, reduced almost to nothing. Of the large amount annually confided to the War Department, nearly every dollar is, at the proper season, promptly and precisely accounted for.

The public can also see by these documents, that the army is not an idle pageant, concentrated into masses, merely as nurseries of discipline, or in preparation for contingent events. It forms, as it were, only a chain of sentinels on our lengthened maritime and inland borders, the conservators of the public property, as well as of the public peace. Every harbour, which is the resort of foreign commerce, and the inlet to an immense amount of property, requires a degree of protection, even in time

of peace. Jurisdiction is best respected, when at all times prepared to punish any violation of it. A consideration of this kind justifies all the defence now afforded by the army to the sea-board, and would rather lead to an enlargement than diminution of it. And experience has satisfactorily showed that our inland frontiers have not a surplus bayonet. Recent events have probably induced an opinion, that a greater amount of force there, would have prevented many difficulties, saved the effusion of some blood, and the disbursement of large sums of the public money. An additional regiment in that quarter, would doubtless have obviated those events and their consequences. And it is not unlikely that the cost of the militia services, which were resorted to, would have sustained such a regiment more than ten years.—Almost every Indian disturbance on our frontiers, may be traced with much probability to a belief among the savages, that we had not a force to repel or punish their aggressions. This belief has naturally arisen from the frequent evacuation of some of our border forts, erected, as the savages well knew, to hold them in check, and which they supposed would be abandoned only through weakness or fear. Many of the chiefs have penetration or experience to see the fallacy of such inferences. But the mass of the tribes, the young warriors aspiring and impatient, reason from observation alone. The temporary evacuations, at different periods, of Fort Gratiot, Chicago, Prairie du Chien, &c., were all followed by Indian troubles, which cost the nation more or less blood and treasure. Whether these measures were the result of necessity, or of experimental caprice, having more in view the particular improvement of the army, than the general defence and permanent quiet of the frontiers, it is not now worth while to inquire; but their consequences prove the importance of a constant military guard on our inland frontiers.

The troubles which occurred the last season, on the north-western frontier, through the ambition or restlessness of the celebrated chief, Black-Hawk, exhibited the army, and the facilities of the country for co-operative movements, under a new aspect. During the war of 1812, the obstructions on all our communications between the sea-board and the north-west, were such as to render auxiliary intercourse nearly impracticable. Those attempts that were made from unavoidable necessity, afforded only a tardy and inadequate relief, at an enormous expense. But the same region had undergone, in the meantime, a wonderful change. Population had spread over it, and avenues, of all descriptions, had intersected it. Under these encouraging circumstances, the Secretary of War, on the occurrence of the north-western disturbances, determined to try the feasibility of transferring the maritime garrisons during the emergency, to

that quarter; and, as will appear by his report, the experiment was completely successful, forming an epoch in the relations of our military defence, which shows the resources of the officer in whose mind it originated. Looking at the great avenues of communication, which connected the Atlantic with the region of the Lakes, Governor Cass saw, that the garrisons scattered along the former, could be transferred to the latter within a space of time, that would enable them to participate in the operations there. An almost simultaneous movement was made from Old Point Comfort, Virginia, to Mackinaw, nearly every intermediate garrison being put under orders for Chicago, the point then supposed to be most convenient to the seat of hostilities. A portion of these troops, which, by the route necessarily taken, were eighteen hundred miles from this point, reached it in eighteen days; and had not the cholera—a truly formidable and appalling obstacle—intercepted the route, the whole body would have been concentrated there with a similar celerity. The causes which prevented these troops from aiding efficaciously in the concluding events of the disturbance, are well known. The important fact, however, that there exists between the maritime and inland garrisons, a co-operative connexion, which may be available in all ordinary emergencies, is satisfactorily established; and we may deem it proved, that under most circumstances, the army, however segregated it may be, will be adequate to suppress all insurrectionary movements of the savages, and supersede the necessity of calling out the militia. The readiness with which large bodies of this part of our national defence turned out in the season of danger, for the protection of the border settlements, and to punish aggression, is creditable to the spirit and patriotism of the states which furnished them. But it is impossible to overlook the vast disproportion which exists between the actual service rendered by these hasty levies, and the public expense and individual sacrifices of which they are the cause. In a moment of alarm, calm and prudent calculation is rejected, as unsuited to the urgency of the case. When the adventurous Black-Hawk had fixed himself, in defiance of treaties, and apparently of the whole force of the country, with only a band of a few hundred warriors, on this side of the Mississippi, the States of Illinois and Indiana were seemingly ready to rise en masse, and precipitate themselves on the scene of action. Repeated calls were actually made on them for drafts. These, added to the volunteers that rushed zealously to the camp, formed a numerical force vastly exceeding the demands of the emergency. Their services, however, rendered with alacrity and in good faith, will, and should be remunerated without any inquiry as to this fact. But the amount of the cost should suggest the propriety of endeavouring, on the occurrence

of similar events hereafter, to fulfil the same objects with more economy. The experiment made by Governor Cass, has proved beyond a doubt, that there are few points on our inland frontier, on which an adequate regular force may not be concentrated in about the same time, that would be required to bring into *effective* operation a body of militia from the neighbouring states. That a desultory force could be hastily embodied in a shorter time, will not be denied. But these extempore movements are worse than useless, except to repulse an actual invasion. A body of men, whether militia or regulars, which marches out with only a hasty and scant supply of either provisions or ammunition, must soon march back again. Such was the case in the late disturbance. Two thousand volunteers were marched from Illinois, who, before they reached the scene of action, exhausted their meager supplies, and soon rejoined their firesides. This hebdomadal campaign will claim as full remuneration, as if it had resulted in the most beneficial service. But its effects were probably not merely negative. Such abortive movements have the most encouraging influences on an enemy, which could see in them only a proof of weakness or fear. There can be little doubt that Black-Hawk, whose first designs were probably only to exact a new issue of corn, (that which he had received the previous year being exhausted) was emboldened to assume, as he afterwards did, the character of an avowed belligerent, by these signs of bravado and imbecility, which marked the outset of operations.

There is an indefinitude in services performed by militia, which places them beyond the limits of calculation. The claims arising out of them are hydra-like, and continue to spring up even after the generation has passed away which rendered them. The numerous acts, and the innumerable resolutions of Congress, attest this fact. But the expense attending the operations of regular troops can be subjected to comparative certainty. The maximum of their force can always be determined, and nearly every item of expenditure anticipated. As long as we have Indians on our borders, we must expect occasional border disturbances. If these can generally be suppressed by the regular army, incalculable sums may be saved to the national treasury; and the vicinal population will be exempted from those sacrifices of time and comfort, which even the large appropriations awarded on account of them must fail to counterbalance. That the army, with the present facilities of communication intersecting the whole country—facilities which must be constantly increasing—is adequate to this service, few will now doubt. The temporary evacuation of the maritime forts, in ordinary times, can be productive of no injury, provided arrangements be made for the security of the public property during the interval. A small guard,

with a responsible officer, effects this arrangement. Such movements, moreover, give the army experience in a most essential part of its duty. Expertness in mobility has little scope for exercise in time of peace, and every fit occasion should be seized to enlarge it. With a view to this object, a rule has been established, that every garrison should be changed once in two years. It has not been often enforced, probably because it was found that the attendant expense, necessarily large, more than counterbalanced the benefit. No doubt it did, and such costly lessons could hardly be justified. But if this desirable instruction can be incidentally acquired,—if the army, in the discharge of important duties, can occasionally rub off the rust, or rather soil the too great polish of garrison life, by rapid movements from frontier to frontier, much benefit is effected at no additional cost.

The suggestion of the Secretary of War, to convert the corps of mounted rangers into a regiment of cavalry, well deserves the consideration of Congress. That corps was the offspring of hasty legislation, is of a most anomalous character, and proves to be enormously expensive. The latter characteristic can be justified only by the supposition that it is serviceable in proportion. This, however, is not presumed. To admit that its services are equal to those rendered by troops raised and kept up in the usual manner, is probably as much, and more than will be claimed, and if it prove to be more expensive, sufficient reasons are offered for the proposed conversion.

The propriety of mingling with our army a portion of cavalry, has long been gaining advocates. Our extended and often campaign frontier, opens a suitable field for its effective operation. The experience of the war of 1812, has led us to undervalue this arm of our national defence. Having proved almost unserviceable in its several campaigns, the dragoons were disbanded at the peace with little or no remonstrance from any quarter. But there may have been causes for their inefficiency at that time, which do not exist at present. It is true we had a regiment of dragoons from 1808: but it is also true that they were not mounted until 1812; consequently the regiment of four years' standing was, on the event of the war, as fresh and inexperienced as the additional regiment which was raised in 1812. They were both hurried into service with little or no preparation; and the scene of active operations being mostly in a region broken and intersected by lakes and rivers, and obstructed by forests, they proved at all times an expensive, sometimes a troublesome, and more often a useless incumbrance. But a body of horse would now find a most appropriate field on some of our inland frontiers, where its faculty of prompt movement would make it incomparably more formidable than infantry. A few flying camps, or squadrons of well disciplined cavalry, which should

be moveable between certain given points, would extend a cordon along the Missouri and Mississippi frontiers, that would augment many fold their security, and give new confidence to the itinerant trade which is scattered over them. Every dictate of economy and prudence is in favour of such a corps, even for present service. Its several parts, under the distribution we have suggested, would form intermediate links, connecting our widely separated posts into one continuous chain of defence; and having cavalry as a component part of our army, we should at all times, in emergencies, have a stock of experience and discipline, on which we could engraft with every assurance of early fruits. It is inexcusable and wasteful folly to send raw infantry into the field; but, untrained men, on untrained horses, form a combination of awkwardness that can ensure nothing but extravagance and disgrace.

These considerations naturally ally themselves with the recommendation of the Secretary of War, in concurrence with that of the board of visitors, that cavalry exercises should be made a part of the course of instruction at West Point. It is probable that every board has felt a desire to propose such an enlargement of the system; and those which have not expressed it, have doubtless been deterred only by the belief, that, as we had none of that arm in service, it would be a vain recommendation. Now that we have actually such a corps—for the rangers are such, though under a most imperfect organization—the recommendation may be urged with new force. The institution at West Point, which is deservedly the boast of the nation, should be so organized as to send forth its elites accomplished in all the elementary exercises of war. Equitation is an essential quality in the character of every officer.

As the present brief session of Congress, (February, 1833,) occupied as it is with subjects of imperative and paramount interest, will probably exclude all consideration of the foregoing suggestions of the Secretary of War, as well as of many others he has presented of much importance to the service, it may not be useless to pass them in review, in order to direct more effectually towards them the public attention, preparatory to future action. The Secretary of War, in his report, recurs to the often repeated proposition, relative to an augmentation of the two engineer corps, adducing reasons for it which would seem to be unanswerable. The omission to legislate on these subjects, when urged by motives so importunate, is somewhat unaccountable. The question is not whether more money shall be drawn from the treasury for this purpose, but as to the best disposition of that which is already in the course of expenditure. There is, we believe, expended annually, an amount sufficient to support the two corps with the enlargement proposed. If this be

the case, it will be inquired whether the result be equally beneficial to the country. Under the present system, there is a continual waste of valuable experience, which, in a regular corps, is accumulating for the advantage of the government. Change or succession in duties which require science and practice, keeps them depressed at the minimum of value and usefulness. There can be little or no accumulation. By the time ordinary expertness is attained, rotation substitutes another novice; and thus some of the most important concerns of the country are divided between ordinary expertness and utter ignorance. Were these corps, by new enactments made susceptible of expansion, they could be recruited from the military academy with young men, having every prerequisite,—and whose abilities, ever on the increase, would be like an investment, the interest of which would be constantly accruing to the country. The great plan of our fortifications is, we are aware, in the course of fulfilment. But, besides that its completion will require yet many years, we can find little reason to hesitate in giving the engineer corps a capacity commensurate with this immense work, in the contingency that such an extension may exceed the exact demands of a remote future. Even this shadowy objection, however, does not apply to the topographical corps, whose useful employment does not depend on any scheme which is likely to be less urgent in its demands for the skill and experience of its officers hereafter than at present. However the power of internal improvement may be modified, it is a system which must prevail in this country. A rich and enterprising people will not permit state lines to be impassable boundaries to its prosperity. Under some constitutional and unobjectionable form, internal improvement must and will advance; and the topographical corps will be the main depository of the skill that is to guide it onward.

We regret to observe that the Secretary of War has, in the report of the present year, omitted all allusion to a subject which was prominently stated in his previous report, and in favour of which every argument still applies with undiminished force. In order that his just and intelligent opinions on the subject may be revived, we quote his remarks on it as they appeared in his report of 1831.

"It is due to the army, that the subject of brevet commissions should be placed before you. So far as respects the services and compensation of officers holding those commissions, the present regulations are just, and well calculated to prevent any injury to the public service. No officer can receive the pay of his brevet rank unless serving in that capacity when on duty, and having a command according to his brevet rank. There are twenty-nine officers in the army now drawing brevet pay.

"These brevet commissions presuppose experience in the officer, and are founded on the presumption, that circumstances may arise when his services may be useful in a more extensive sphere than that in which, by his lineal commission, he is required to act; and these circumstances will oftener be found in our

service, than in any other. Our regular troops and militia must frequently act together. When thus co-operating, the officers of the regular army take rank of all militia officers of the same grade, whatever may be the date of their respective commissions. This rule is highly beneficial to the public interest, because, without creating invidious distinctions, it gives to experience its proper weight. By granting brevet commissions, after ten years' service in one grade, agreeably to the present rule, experienced officers will be provided for command upon detachment, or at posts where objects are important or the danger imminent.

"The construction which has been given to the law on this subject, has restricted the granting of brevet commissions upon prior ones to those cases only where ten years' services have been rendered under such prior commissions. There may be some doubt respecting the correctness of this view, and also the expediency of this restriction.

"These commissions, except in the few instances stated, and those very proper, occasion no expense to government. They are in their operation rewards for past good conduct, and incentives to future. They cannot be abused, for ten years' service certainly qualify an officer for a higher grade; and to attain by brevet promotion the rank of brigadier general from the commencement of the term of a captain, requires a period of forty years. And if to this be added the necessary progress through the two lower grades of first and second lieutenant, the prospect of a young man, on entering our service, is not very flattering. Nor has he much to hope from his pay. It is barely sufficient to enable the officers, with rigid economy, to live respectably; and few of them leave for their children any inheritance but a good name.

"It is important that a just pride of character, personal and professional, should be encouraged in a class of men, whose usefulness depends essentially upon the cultivation of such feeling. This system of promotion, so useful in war and economical in peace, offers honourable objects of ambition, and cannot fail to stimulate the exertions of the officers of the army."

We can hardly hope to add any thing to these appropriate observations which would be likely to give the subject new interest or importance. But the apparent determination of the senate not to act on the subject, and the repeated introduction into that body, of a proposition to repeal the brevet law, cannot but excite a deep anxiety in the army, and may justify new endeavours to awaken a feeling in favour of its rights and its honour. We are aware that the subject is too exclusively professional to address itself with much force to any mind not in some degree alive to military prepossessions. And we are also aware that there have been some controversies connected with it, which, for a season, gave it an unpopular notoriety. But—in respect to the latter—something should be pardoned to the spirit of the vocation. Much of that ardour, which is kindled in camp, still animates the soldier when his sword is sheathed, and he is prone to bandy words with something of the zeal with which he would splinter a lance. The public, nevertheless, have an interest in upholding his rights, and would not intentionally sanction any unnecessary infringement of them. It may be conceded, that the brevet law has been greatly perverted in this country. The service of no other exhibits such excesses. We borrowed our statute on the subject from the British, and it would have been better had we abided by their practice under it. How we came to depart so widely from it, can now hardly be accounted for. The article

of war, which was common to both countries, was, and is we believe, limited in its operations, in the elder country, to regiments; and had we observed the same restriction, our army might perhaps have been equally rewarded for its valour and achievements, and at the same time preserved more of its symmetry, by being less overburdened with adscititious rank. We may infer from some of the enactments of the Revolutionary Congress, what position brevets held in the scale of honourable rewards in those memorable and exemplary days. We cannot now recur to the record, but we are led by memory to believe, that the conspicuous actors at the taking of Stony Point—one of the most daring and brilliant achievements of the revolution—were rewarded, the chief of the party, (General Wayne) with a medal; the leaders of storming columns, (Lieutenant Colonels) with swords; and the subalterns of the forlorn hope, with brevets. This was a chary distribution of honours, compared with the practice of the last war. Many of those battles which stand so prominent in history, were followed by no brevets. The only commission (so far as we are informed) of that kind, which was conferred on the distinguished actors in the battles that preceded the surrender of Burgoyne, was Colonel Wilkinson's, which was, however, afterwards revoked. And during the first years of the last war, the brevet law remained nearly or quite inoperative. It is true those years were eminent for disasters, rather than triumphs. Still, however, they had achievements, which were subsequently deemed worthy the brevet compliment. But the campaign of 1814, exhibiting a series of victories which stood in bright contrast with the reverses that had generally marked the previous campaigns, seemed to awaken a new feeling in the government, towards the army. Like most reactions, it went to an extreme. A discreet exercise of the power conferred by the brevet law, during the previous years, might have sooner roused the pride and energies of the army, depressed to the lowest degree by disasters and discountenance; and a like discretion, during the flush of reaction and triumph, would have made brevets, instead of being a mere proof of having been in action, an evidence of having been eminent for valour or conduct there. Had the stern discrimination of the revolution prevailed during the last war, highly distinguished as it was for gallantry and achievement, the list of brevetted officers might have been a brief one, and still have left both the country and individuals their complement of renown. The victor of Brownstown would perhaps have been rewarded with a brevet, not because the triumph there was great, but because it was the initial success, on land, of the war, and by way of encouragement to the future: though Colonel Prescott received no such compliment for the Spartan-like stand he made, on the

threshold of the revolution, at Breed's Hill; a precedent, however, better in the breach than in the performance. The gallant defence of Fort Sandusky would have been conspicuously rewarded in all times and in any nation. And so, probably, would have been the capture of the battery at Lundy's Lane. These allusions are not intended to detract from the well-earned and acknowledged merit of a large number of officers, whose names are conspicuously interwoven with the history of the last war. Their reputation was not given by a brevet, nor would it have been less had none been conferred.

We know little of the operation of the brevet law in the British service. It has not been so extensive or common as to excite much notice; nor would it seem to have been a usual mode of rewarding individual distinction. Their system of promotion beyond the grade of Colonel, is peculiar, and has no analogy with ours. The practice of the French army has also been widely different. Brevets are there conferred under a very restricted rule, and generally on the field of battle, as a reward for some achievement, so signal and prominent, as to be ratified by the applause of the whole army engaged.

But these various laws relative to military brevets, become in time of peace, inoperative. "Gallant actions" which, in most services, give claim to them, are the offspring of war alone. In our service, however, the rule was enlarged. The law, allowing the president to confer brevets, was enacted in 1812, just at the commencement of the war of that period. In order to offer every usual incitement to gallantry and enterprise, this power respecting them was bestowed on the executive, adding, however, to the more common claims for such a distinction, that of having "served ten years in one grade." This extension of the ordinary scope of such laws, must have had in view only a comparatively remote effect, as, under all probable calculations, it could not come into operation during the hostilities then about being commenced. It looked to the state of peace that was likely to ensue, and permitted every officer who took a commission, and bore his part in the struggle, to regard promotion at the end of a certain time, as among the rewards of his service. It is not at all to the purpose now to inquire into the necessity or expediency of offering at that time, this new incentive to military zeal. There might have been no lack of exertion, had the law stopped at the usual limit. It was not certainly among the weeds which called forth the emulations and glorious strivings of war. But it became valuable in time of peace, and the army has now enjoyed its privileges for nearly twenty years. More than that time has elapsed since the enactment of the law; but, although really in force, it has been practically repealed the last three years. It has become a mode of promotion, which, although

slow, is sure. The ordinary mode is still slower, without any certainty. With all the privileges and chances of promotion now annexed to a commission, the cadet of West Point, on being graduated, can hardly anticipate the attainment of the rank of brigadier general, (either by brevet or otherwise) under sixty years. He has seven grades to pass through. The chances of ordinary promotion, as we have observed, taking the aggregate time into calculation, are not likely to advance him beyond the reach of the brevet law, which has, thus far, overtaken almost every grade in service. If then he can rely on that of the latter alone, supposing him to receive a commission at twenty, he is likely to become a brigadier general, by brevet, at eighty. There is nothing conjectural or exaggerated in this statement. It is the plain result of a plain case.

It may well be asked, where is the evil of such a law, which should justify its practical repeal, even while yet in force? Or, that should call for such persevering attempts to repeal it in form as well as in substance? The last brevet commissions were conferred in 1829. Since then, the senate has not acted on any nominations that may have been sent in. That they *have* been sent in, we have every reason to suppose, as well as that the president is, at least, in favour of fulfilling the law while it stands unrepealed. The law of 1818 imposed a restriction on that of 1812. Under the latter, the president conferred brevets without reference to the senate. The former makes such a reference necessary. But this is also the case in ordinary promotions. The president may fill the vacancy during the recess of the senate, but the appointment is not valid until that body has given its sanction. In both cases, there is nothing imperative on the president; he fills up vacancies or proposes brevets, on the same principle, namely, to sustain the army in its proper organization, and to fulfil the laws. The senate might decline to act in the one case as in the other. It is true, the consequences would not be the same, as, were no brevets conferred, the organization of the army would still be complete. But as long as the law authorizing the president to confer this decennial rank stands in the statute book unrepealed, and the president sees fit to propose officers for promotion under it, it will not be deemed disrespectful to the senate to remark, that only objections of a strong and obvious character would seem to justify inaction on the subject. The objection which has been occasionally advanced, that the army is becoming overburdened with anticipated rank, is satisfactorily met by the secretary of war in the foregoing extract. As he remarks, ten years' service is evidence of qualification for a higher grade; and the probable association of the army with the militia, in all seasons of general hostility, renders it peculiarly proper to give the officers of the former as much rank as the laws and a regard

to experience will authorize. Whatever fears may have been entertained previous to 1818, as to the additional expense which might accrue under a fulfilment of the law as it then stood, the act of that year put a restriction on it, which leaves the most radical economist no just grounds for apprehension. It may truly be said, that these brevet commissions "occasion no expense to the government," while "they are in their operation rewards for past good conduct, and incentives to the future." With few exceptions, we have brigadier generals receiving only the pay of colonels; colonels receiving the pay of lieutenant colonels; and so on down to the lowest grade. Scarcely an officer enjoys this anticipated rank, who has not passed through the novitiate of ten years, and thus become amply qualified to receive it. In the British service, an officer is considered eligible to the rank of captain, when he has served two years as an "effective subaltern;" and he may become a major after six years' service. Under our brevet law, which is regarded by the senate as being so obnoxious, and which cannot be safely allowed to operate even while in force, a subaltern coming in as he must in the initial grade, cannot attain the rank of captain under *twenty* years, nor that of major under *thirty*—and so on. If it be said, that the ordinary march of promotion outstrips this tardy pace, then the law becomes inoperative and harmless. It can never apply, except in aid of an officer who has been left ten years in one grade.

Several propositions have been submitted to the senate within a few years, relative to this subject. It seems to have been presumed, that *some* action on it had become indispensable. During the controversies to which we have before alluded, perhaps such an opinion was somewhat prevalent. But those controversies would neither have been prevented nor mitigated, had that part of the brevet law which we are now considering never been enacted. They arose out of other portions of it; and unless the senate is prepared to determine, that, in the event of another war, "gallant actions" shall neither be encouraged nor rewarded, they are likely to arise again. This decennial rank admits of no irregularity in its bestowment, and consequently can become the cause of bickerings no more than ordinary promotion. The other and more important parts of the brevet law fall into desuetude at the conclusion of a war, and would doubtless have been repealed had not this been deemed the case. It stands in the statute book ready to be revived, when its provisions would properly become applicable. But this new feature was added with a view to peace alone, and in order to improve the ordinary chances of promotion during that period of inaction, so that the military aspirant might lay the flattering assurance to his soul, that he would reach the rank (though not consequently the emoluments) of brigadier general, at the end of sixty years. Our highest rank

is that of major general. The event of a gallant war has elevated some few to that grade, who enjoy it while yet in middle age. But in these days, even if the senate permit the brevet law to stand, with all its obnoxious features, none but octogenaries can hope to reach it.

A proposition offered a few years ago in the senate, went simply to repeal the law, leaving it to operate of course up to the date of the repeal. We do not know that Colonel Benton's proposition differs from this; though we are led to apprehend that it is intended to retro-act as far as 1829. By prohibiting, as it is said to do, all future brevets, the senate cannot act on those which have become due since that period. If such be the intention, we are warranted in saying, that it will bear with extreme hardship on a large class of meritorious officers. We would not speak of vested rights. That phrase would perhaps be too strong, as applying to all kinds of promotion in the army; though if rights, accruing under usage or common law, assume a vested character, we might not widely err in adopting it. Indeed, the right of brevet promotion is even more legally secured than that of ordinary promotion, as the one is founded on a positive statute, and the other merely on usage. No officer has an absolute claim to the vacancy which happens next above him, as no law secures it to him; and yet, (presuming no disqualification to exist) he is permitted to regard it as incontestable. So, with like reason, or rather with stronger reason, every officer has, through a course of twenty years, been permitted to look forward to brevet advancement at the end of ten years, as a reward for his lengthened service. This prospect has been rendered certain by a law, and the invariable practice under it. And however remote it may be, it has been a necessary encouragement even to those who entered the army, when it was not required to begin the ascent at the lowest round of the ladder. How much more necessary must it be to those who are subjected to this restriction. Take it away from them, and they may well despair.

What, we may be allowed to ask, would have been the effect of fulfilling the law each year thus far? The army would have had a few brevet additions to each grade, with little or no increase of expense to the treasury; that is, a few officers who had served ten years faithfully in one grade, and had consequently, as all admit, become qualified for promotion, would be advanced under the law, and according to usage;—thereby rendering the army in all respects more effective, and particularly adapted for beneficial association with the militia. What, we may likewise ask, has been the effect of withholding these brevets, and practically repealing the law while yet in full force? A class of valuable officers feels itself aggrieved and humbled—perhaps the victim of partiality and injustice; and the whole army feels an anxious sense

of insecurity for its rights and immunities. The more immediate sufferers see their predecessors in the enjoyment of honours, perhaps emoluments, to which they think they have an equal right under both law and usage. They continue to discharge their duties with strictness and punctuality. The penalties of neglect may ensure this ; but prompt and willing hearts should be joined with ready and skilful hands.

The army is the depository of that fund of military and scientific attainment, which is annually sent forth from West Point. When the character which now belongs more particularly to the subordinate grades, shall have pervaded all ranks, we shall have as effective a body of officers, so far as it can be formed in time of peace, as we hesitate not to say, the world can boast. Such a body would seem to be a proper object of all just encouragement. The honour and welfare of the country are in some degree identified with it. There should be every proper inducement held out to retain in it the most accomplished and the most worthy: we do not say that the commissions of the army will not be filled. But how few of the highly endowed would be contented long to remain in a service, which would deny him the assurance of being a colonel at three score! There are young men annually graduated at the military academy, whose capacity and attainments combined with ten years' service, would fit them for almost any grade in service; and yet the Senate would withdraw the certainty of becoming even a first lieutenant in that time.

Colonel Benton, who, as the chairman of the military committee in the Senate, becomes the putative father of most of the propositions we have alluded to, was, although but a short time, yet long enough in the army, to enter into some of the feelings of a soldier. He must have some sympathy with his almost covetous desire for rank. It is the aliment of his military spirit, and should be administered with all proper liberality; as it would be impolitic to pamper it with a lavish abundance, it would be equally so to starve it with needless parsimony. If the object be to preclude the contentions that have occasionally arisen, the repeal proposed, as we have before remarked, would not attain it. Nothing short of a revocation of the honour which rewarded the gallantry of the war of 1812, can attain it. Recall those which crowned the achievements on the Niagara, at Plattsburg, and New Orleans, and every cause of brevet contention is removed. To do this, all will admit, would be extreme injustice: and moreover would raise an outcry in the nation. But the proposition now before the Senate, though unjust in a diminished degree, and unlikely to excite any popular clamour, has less reason to sustain it, as it has no past evils to correct, and promises no future benefit. Under the aspect which it wears to us,

the proposed repeal would appear to be mere wantonness of legislation.

If the object be economy, and to avoid the occasional and contingent expense which the law now admits, we would suggest in order to make that impossible which is now improbable, that the law be only so modified, as to exclude all additional emolument arising under its provisions in time of peace. The army would be content to make any pecuniary sacrifice to retain its long enjoyed, though still limited chances for promotion, provided such a sacrifice be required. It might also see, without regret, its range of operation confined to regimental rank.

This may seem to be a question of very limited interest. It is undoubtedly so regarded by the Senate, which receives and partially acts on the proposition of Colonel Benton each session, without any feeling of hesitation or word of dissent. We cannot but believe that that high and dignified body, absorbed by the consideration of far more urgent topics, has permitted the bearing of this military question to escape all attention; and we cannot but indulge a hope, that it will not be persuaded through an unhesitating confidence in the opinion of one man, whatever claims to respect his presumed military experience, or rank on the military committee may give him, to deprive the army of a privilege which has been secured to it by law and usage so many years, without due inquiry into its necessity or expediency. Any question which seriously affects the cherished interests of an important part of our national defence, is worthy of a deliberate and full investigation; and we are satisfied, that if such be the case, the army has nothing to fear for its rights or its honours.

Since the preceding remarks were written, two acts have been passed by Congress materially affecting the army. One of these provides for the organization of a regiment of dragoons, and the other for the improvement of the condition of the soldiers. The former will add a most useful arm to our military establishment, and the latter by the increase of pay to the non-commissioned officers and privates, by abolition of bounty, and by the curtailment of the period of enlistment, will, it is believed, prove entirely beneficial in practice.

ART. III.—*A Narrative of four Voyages to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antartic Ocean, from the year 1822 to 1831. Comprising critical surveys of Coasts and Islands, with sailing directions; and an account of some new and valuable discoveries, including the Massacre Islands, where thirteen of the Author's crew were massacred and eaten by cannibals. To which is prefixed a brief sketch of the Author's early life.* By CAPT. BENJAMIN MORRELL, JR. 8vo. New York: 1832.

THIS book seems particularly well adapted to the purpose of a reviewer, since it is one concerning which, most persons would like to know something, while few will care to read it, and still fewer to purchase it, the reason being that Captain Morrell has made it about twice as large as it ought to be. He does not indeed write like a professed book-maker, substituting flimsy theory and mawkish sentimentality for fact;—nothing of this; with the exception of a little pedantry, he writes as a plain sailor might well be supposed to write; but then he inserts so many unnecessary particulars, that he tires his readers while he ought to amuse them. Had he taken for his model the Narrative of Commodore Byron,—foul-weather Jack, as he was commonly called, the grandfather of the poet,—he might have produced a volume which would have met with greater success than is likely to attend the present. Accordingly, the object of the present article will be to furnish such an abstract of it, as may suffice for the generality of readers.

Captain Morrell was born at a small place named Rye, in Long Island, in 1795; but his father removing about a year after his birth, to Stonington, in Connecticut, he was bred in "the land of steady habits," though his own proved to be, in the sequel, exceedingly unsteady. Till he was about ten years old, he suffered so much from sickness, that like Barthelemy, Gibbon, and Cowper, each of whom has left his own memoirs, he seems to recur to the period of early childhood with little satisfaction. On his convalescence, he imbibed a passion for a sea-life, and finding that his father was not disposed to gratify him in it, he resolved to run away from home; but he did not carry his project into effect, till he was sixteen. At that early period, without taking leave of any one, and being entirely his own confidant, he set off for New York, where he succeeded in obtaining a berth in a vessel bound for Lisbon. After touching at that port, they proceeded to Cadiz, which was at that time exposed to a French bombardment, and of course, offered to a ro-

mantic youth such a scene as he had wished to witness, and was perhaps influential on his future character.

"To see the bomb-shells flying over our ship, and falling into the marketplace, which I had occasion to visit every day, for beef and vegetables, was," says he, "truly grand and sublime. It was in some measure realizing what I had so often heard, and read, and dreamed of; it was a partial consummation of my most prominent juvenile desires. I soon became familiar with danger, and actually felt the most gratified when the shells fell thickest around me; so that I might exhibit my contempt of danger and fear. From that period I became romantically fond of hazardous and desperate enterprises, in the achievement of which I have ever since sought to place myself foremost. Whether this propensity be physical or moral, or both combined, or inconsiderate rashness, I leave for others to decide. At all events, it appears to be inherent in my nature, and the most pleasant sensations I have ever experienced, were the effects of its gratification."

War having commenced between this country and England, the vessel was captured on the homeward voyage, and conveyed to Newfoundland, at the capital of which island, St. John's, the crew were detained prisoners nearly eight months, and then returned home in a cartel. Landing at Boston, he proceeded on foot to Stonington, and was received by his father most affectionately, his undutiful conduct being forgiven in the joy for his restoration. His father told him that he would no longer thwart his desires for a seafaring life, but that he wished him to remain on shore till he had received an education qualifying him for a ship-master. The youth felt the propriety of this; but, catching the enthusiasm of the day, arising from the capture of several British frigates, he was unable to control his feelings, and embarked in a privateer, which, however, was shortly after converted into a letter-of-marque. His visions of glory did not last long. Before she had made a single prize, she herself was sent as one to England, and our author wished himself at Stonington once more. The captain treated the American prisoners well, ordered them into the ships messes, and it being the anniversary of Independence, directed the steward to supply them with half a dozen bottles of spirits from his private store, that they might drink to the memory of Washington; an indulgence with which they were not backward to comply. On their arrival in England, they were sent to Dartmoor prison, where they remained for nearly two years, and it is proper that we should here insert Captain Morrell's statement of their treatment in his own words.

"In this dreary abode we found above eight thousand Frenchmen, and about half that number of Americans, all prisoners of war. Here we received every indulgence that could be expected under such circumstances; and though we had no more than the customary prisoners' allowance of food, what we had was good and wholesome. We enjoyed the privilege of an excellent market, at the regular prices of the country, where every thing offered for sale was obliged to be of the best kind. No imposition was allowed to be practised on the prisoners by the English farmers. We had our own cooks, and our own nurses in the

hospital; and the doctor was one of the best and most humane of men. His name was M'Graw, and he was justly beloved and respected by every American in Dartmoor prison. We had the liberty of a large yard, from daylight until dark; and a certain number of the prisoners were each day permitted to go outside the walls to work, for which they were regularly paid by the captain of the prison. Within the walls we amused ourselves with schools, dramatic performances, and a variety of games and plays. In fact, I cannot conscientiously accuse the British of any inhumanity towards the American prisoners, during all my detention of thirty-one months in St. John's and at Dartmoor, excepting the atrocious massacre at the latter place, in April, 1815, after the peace."

Considering that several other accounts, at different times published, are calculated to raise odium unjustly, we regard this statement as important, confirmed as it has been to us, by oral communication from the mate of another vessel, who was a fellow-prisoner. Into the question of the massacre, we shall not now enter; but shall simply remark, that it is exceedingly unfair to condemn a whole nation, as some are prone to do, for the misdeeds of a single person.

After performing several successive voyages before the mast—the only good school, he says, of practical seamanship—he was patronised by the master of a vessel, who, by his kind instructions, qualified him to take the command himself; a circumstance which he records with becoming gratitude. These are all the particulars of his preliminary memoir, which we deem it needful to insert: so we now proceed to give some account of each of his four voyages.

He set sail from New York in the summer of 1822, in the schooner *Wasp*; but he does not state the precise object of his voyage; one part of it, however, he does mention, viz: "to make a critical survey of the South American coast, from Cape Corrientes to Cape Horn, and as far north on the Pacific side as circumstances would permit." In addition, he had discretionary powers to attempt to reach the Antarctic pole. Now all this appears very remarkable. What could induce the owners of the vessel to undertake that, the accomplishment of which might indeed add to the national glory, but could produce no profit to themselves? Exploratory voyages are usually made, as they ought to be, at the national expense; and several of the maritime powers of Europe have laid the world under obligations for the additions which voyages so undertaken, have made to cosmography. If, then, either patriotism, or the love of science, prompts merchants to sacrifice gain for the public benefit, great indeed ought to be the public gratitude. About three years ago, a private expedition was sent from England, for the purpose of making the north-west passage to the Pacific, but then a large parliamentary reward awaits the first successful navigator of that dangerous track. No such reward has been offered by our government for any similar undertaking.

Captain Morrell, on this voyage, reached the seventieth de-

gree of latitude, being within one of that attained by Cook; but the highest on record in the southern hemisphere, is that of Captain Weddell, of the British navy, viz: $74^{\circ} 15'$; and when we consider that Captain Parry, in the opposite hemisphere, stretched as far as $82^{\circ} 45'$, we think that possibly some future navigator may extend his voyage to "earth's utmost bounds." We say *possibly*, for we can by no means assent to Captain Morrell's conclusion, that had he persevered, he *must* have reached the pole. The sea's being open within twenty degrees of an unknown object, is surely no proof that it must continue open to the object itself; and, unless it can be philosophically demonstrated, that no ice exists beyond a certain latitude, we are not justified in pronouncing positively, concerning what has not been explored. Unwarranted presumption is no proof of superior discernment, but is rather indicative of deficiency in that *modest* confidence, which ought to characterize the scientific discoverer.

In the course of this voyage, Captain Morrell sailed through the Strait of Magellan, and visited the remains of Philipville, the foundation of which was laid in 1581, by the Spaniards, but which is now like Jamestown, in Virginia, a scene of ruins. Had the colonists been such men as those whom New England annually pours forth, to settle our western wilderness, they would not, says our author, have fallen victims to famine, but would have converted Patagonia into a fruitful garden, and Philipville would now be a flourishing city. This disparagement of foreign nations by comparison, we do not admire, especially when, as in this instance, it is probably unjust. If, indeed, the Spaniards had failed in all their colonial enterprises, the comparison would not be unfair; but when it is recollected, that they settled various islands in the West Indies, some of which they retain to the present day; that they conquered Mexico and Peru, and extended their national glory over a wider expanse than any other people in equal time—the Romans and the English not excepted—it does appear presumptuous to assert, that the hardy New Englanders must necessarily have surpassed them. While we encourage patriotism, let us avoid bigotry.

An interview which occurred with an Indian tribe on the north side of the strait, places the talents and management of Captain Morrell in advantageous position. It would be well if all civilized commanders were actuated by a similar spirit in their commencement of intercourse with savages. We shall give the account in his own words:—

"At four o'clock, A. M. I ordered the boats to be lowered, manned, and armed. In a few minutes afterward, we started for the Indian village within the sound. After pulling round the point which covers its entrance, and opening a beautiful valley, we discovered the village within one hundred and fifty yards of the boats. In a moment after, we saw about four hundred dogs rushing to-

wards us, while the natives were seen flying from their huts—men, women, and children, apparently in a paroxysm of alarm. As my object was to conciliate this inoffensive people, we paused in our progress, and lay off on our oars: making amicable signs for the natives to lay down their weapons—bows and arrows—which they did without hesitation. I then pulled in to the shore, and landed a short distance from the Indians—and by signs invited six of them to meet me. This they also did with evident willingness. After giving them a friendly and even cordial reception, which inspired them with renewed confidence, I invited them to enter one of my boats, while I advanced and saluted their friends. This request they complied with, but with some reluctance:—when I ordered the boats to haul off, and lay about a fourth of a mile from the shore. Having thus secured a sufficient number of hostages for my personal safety, I advanced along the beach to have an interview with the whole tribe, consisting of about two thousand, of both sexes and all ages, by whom I was received in the most amicable manner. They took me to their wigwams, and showed me every mark of hospitality in their power. I remained on shore with them about two hours, a part of which time I spent in examining their habitations and mode of living, and the remainder in shooting birds at some distance in the woods.

“At length the natives began to evince some symptoms of uneasiness respecting the fate of their friends and countrymen in my boat. On perceiving this, I promptly repaired to the shore, and ordered the boat to pull in. The moment she reached the beach, the six Indians leaped on shore, apparently rejoicing at their safe deliverance. I then entered the boat, and invited the one whom I supposed to be the chief of the tribe, to accompany me to the vessel. To this proposition, however, he would not accede, until I ordered one of my men to jump on shore and run up to the village, to show them how much we relied on their fidelity. On seeing this, the chief instantly appreciated the motive, and stepped into the boat with a confidence that bespoke intellect and feeling. In a few minutes we were on board the *Wasp*, where we found a warm breakfast prepared, awaiting the return of the boats. This chief appeared to be a man of amiable disposition and considerable mind, the evidences of which were legibly written in his countenance. As soon as he found himself on the deck of the schooner, he looked around him with an expression of strong curiosity, not unmingled with surprise, and, in some instances, astonishment. These sentiments were still more forcibly expressed when I conducted him to the cabin, and invited him to take a seat at the breakfast-table. He examined every thing, as if he wished to become acquainted with its nature, principles, causes, and effects; so that I set him down for an Indian philosopher. He seemed to combine the spirit of deep investigation with the childish simplicity of the untutored Indian. At table he evinced a degree of diffidence and even delicacy, which is not common in the savage character. He seemed to relish our food, however, and showed a particular partiality for molasses and sugar. After breakfast, we took him on shore, and restored him to his anxious family and subjects, who received him with the loudest demonstrations of pleasure.

“This afternoon we were visited by a great number of the natives in canoes. As soon as they had approached within hearing, they commenced singing in a plaintive strain, accompanied with a variety of gestures, which I afterwards learned were symbolical tokens of friendship. When they had come within a few yards of the vessel, they ceased paddling, and appeared to be waiting for some encouragement to advance. I therefore made signs for them to come on board. These signs were either misconstrued, or else they wanted more time to examine the exterior of the schooner before they ventured on board. From their manœuvres, inspection, gestures, and consultations, it appeared to me as if they were doubtful whether the *Wasp* was actually a big canoe, or a monster of the deep. After paddling round the vessel, and critically examining her, fore and aft, some of them approached her on the larboard side, and two of the men at length ventured to come on board. I received them in the most friendly manner, and invited them to partake of such provisions as we had at hand—beef, pork, potatoes, and bread—to which I helped them plentifully. They readily

partook of the beef, and appeared so extravagantly fond of the potatoes, that I regretted I had not a larger supply, having only a limited quantity on board as a preventive of the scurvy. The pork they promptly rejected, and scarcely tasted of the bread. As many of their canoes were now alongside, I distributed food and some trifling presents to all of them. As they appeared to set a peculiar value on scraps of iron, or any article made of that material, I contrived to supply every one with a piece of an old hoop, a broken hinge, a crooked pump-bolt, or a rusty spike: while to the females I gave each a string of beads. They seemed much delighted with my apparent liberality, and frequently pointed upwards, as they mumbled over a few unintelligible words, among which I could distinguish one which sounded like *Setedós*, which I afterwards understood to signify the Deity. Previous to their departure, the chief, whose name was Chelule, made a short speech to his subjects, who immediately responded to it in a kind of chorus, or devotional anthem, in which they often repeated the word *Setedós*, at the same time pointing to heaven with much apparent awe and reverence. When this ceremony was finished, they all paddled for the shore, and repaired to their wigwams in the village, which was about three quarters of a mile from the vessel."

A good understanding having been thus established with the natives, Captain Morrell made preparations for a week's excursion into the interior of the country; and succeeded in making Chelule understand his object. Accordingly, at the time appointed, that chief attended by four of his men, met them on the beach. They received them into their boats and steered for the head of the bay into which their vessel had entered. The more Captain Morrell saw of the country, the better he liked it, and became convinced that it was equal in natural advantages to most parts of the world. At nine o'clock they landed, and finding muscles, clams, and mullets in abundance, fared sumptuously. At eleven o'clock the next morning they reached the head of the bay, where they found a village containing about four thousand inhabitants, by whom they were hospitably received. The river on which their village stands, they called Capac, a name which we mention on account of its coincidence with that of one of the Incas of Peru in the time of Pizarro, a fact which may be useful to some future philologist, who may, like Adelung, employ himself in the classification of languages. The chief of this village was persuaded by Chelule to join the party, but as they did not succeed in finding any woods suitable for dyeing—the principal object of their search—they concluded to return to the schooner, and therefore landed this new chief at his village on the following day, Captain Morrell having made him some presents. A hunting party was now prepared; so at least it is styled; but as they had neither horses nor dogs, it ought to have been called a shooting party. The result, however, was, that they killed three deer, five foxes, and a number of birds. This in an old settled country would be considered sport indeed! They reached the vessel at nine o'clock at night, and the next morning landed Chelule and his companions. But before taking leave of the old man, Captain Morrell intimated to him a desire

that his son should embark for the United States, promising to bring him back in about two years. The boy being delighted with the proposal, and his father being willing, he took leave of both his parents and went on board. Many persons coming to take leave of him, he evinced considerable sensibility, at which Captain Morrell was surprised, "as the savage character," he says, "has never been distinguished for a vivid expression of feeling." In this he is certainly in error; for, whatever may be said of the Indians of North America—those stoics of the woods—as Campbell designates them in his *Gertrude of Wyoming*, no people manifest more sensibility than the Polynesians, as is obvious from the account given by almost every navigator in the Pacific. Mr. Stewart, the missionary, says that the Sandwich Islanders had formed an opinion, that the Americans were people of very cold feelings, owing to their making so little manifestation of them. Captain Basil Hall's description of his parting interview with the Loo-Chooans, the accuracy of which is confirmed by Mr. M'Leod, exhibits a beautiful instance of tenderness and sorrow, on the part of those people, seldom witnessed in more civilized communities. But of all nations, the New Zealanders appear the least able to control the expression of their fervid emotions; and though some of them have attempted to display European self-command, they have seldom been able to support it long. In the case now before us, although the youth had consented to accompany Captain Morrell, yet when his mother came to take her final leave of him, his sympathy overpowered his resolutions, and he requested to remain behind; a request which the captain did not refuse to gratify.

These Indians were dressed in the skins of various animals, sewed together with thongs so as to resemble a blanket, and wrapped round the body like a cloak. Their faces were hideously painted with red, black, and white, in fantastic contrast. As they prided themselves on their appearance, it is not unlikely that the various ways in which the colours are spread, serve, like the tattooed visages of the New Zealanders, to indicate their respective ranks. They were so strictly honest, that not a single article was purloined from the vessel; a circumstance the more remarkable, as a nail or any small piece of iron, is valued by them as a treasure. Besides spears, and bows, and arrows, they had slings, in the use of which they showed extraordinary dexterity. But though they were thus armed, they appeared to be pacific and even timid in character. Their colour is a pale yellow, inclining to red, so that they must have some resemblance to the tribes which encircle the Arctic Ocean. Captain Morrell believes, that they are with respect to civilization, in the precise condition of their location, that is, between the Patagonians and

the natives of Terra del Fuego, the latter being the furthest removed from the most improved districts.

These are all the particulars of his first voyage, which it appears necessary for us to communicate to our readers, the rest being generally unimportant, or deficient in novelty. Before, however, proceeding with his narrative, we are inclined to animadvert on an illiberal remark which he has made respecting a man illustrious in literature—De Foe. The visit which Captain Morrell paid to Juan Fernandez naturally recalled to his memory the adventures of Alexander Selkirk, and that extraordinary tale founded on them—Robinson Crusoe. Selkirk, it is well known, related his adventures to De Foe, who declined publishing them, but some years after, gave to the world his Robinson Crusoe. On this circumstance, Captain Morrell remarks as follows:

“De Foe became rich in fame and wealth, while poor Selkirk, the journal of whose sufferings had furnished him with every important incident of the romance, was doomed to pine in want and obscurity. The biographers of De Foe have given him much praise for having acted honourably towards his creditors, from whose demands he had been legally released by the statute of insolvency. They say—‘being afterwards in a state of affluence, he honourably paid the whole.’ If this affluence proceeded from the sale of Robinson Crusoe, this compliment to his integrity might better have been omitted.”

De Foe was certainly under no obligation to become the editor of Selkirk's narrative, and as that narrative was published seven years before the appearance of Robinson Crusoe, it was long enough in the market without a competitor, to enable the bookseller who bought it to remunerate himself. Even if Robinson Crusoe had appeared almost immediately after, he would have had no reasonable cause for complaint, as it is as different from the original as *Paradise Lost* from the Book of Genesis. Selkirk's narrative was republished about twenty years ago by Dr. Drake in the *Gleaner*—a collection of fugitive pieces; and a perusal of it may satisfy any one that De Foe made far less use of it than Byron made of similar narratives in several of his poems. Accordingly, De Foe was under no obligation either in honour or justice to yield any part of his profit to Selkirk: he employed it much better in the liquidation of his debts. Distinguished as De Foe was for integrity, for zealous labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty in an age when both were invaded, for protesting not only against the African slave trade, but against slavery itself, for attempting to mitigate the severity of the penal code, for advocating the claims of honest debtors, and for exposing the absurdity of duelling; he is justly regarded as ranking with the benefactors of his country and the ornaments of mankind. We now take up his second voyage, our first extract from which relates to the island Chiloe.

“The inhabitants of Chiloe generally, are a brave, humane, liberal people; similar, in most respects, to those of Valdivia and Concepcion, except that the

ladies do not dress quite so much in the European style. Their demeanor and manners, however, are so delicate and pleasing, that a man must possess more stoicism than I can boast of, who does not, after a short acquaintance, feel for them a strong partiality. They are remarkable for quickness of apprehension, wit, and vivacity. They are also sociable, lively, and polite; which, combined with an excellent taste, seem to be hereditary qualities. They appear to be particularly well affected towards the Americans of the United States, and also to Englishmen; and, for my own part, I could never think it improper to reciprocate such favourable sentiments.

"Taking it for granted that the fair reader of my own country (should any condescend to peruse the rough journal of a seaman) would like to know something of the dress of these black-eyed ladies of Chiloe, I shall drop a few words on that subject. The first thing that struck me was their liberal use of ornaments, such as gold hair combs, splendid ear-jewels, bracelets on the arms, chains around the wrists, rich chains of gold around the neck and waist, with shoe-buckles of the same valuable material. Many of these ornaments are inlaid with gems and precious stones. Their usual head-dress is simply their glossy black hair, tastefully done up with four or five gold combs, and gracefully disposed, which gives them a charming appearance. Some of them reminded me of Walter Scott's description of Rebecca in the romance of *Ivanhoe*."

Captain Morrell proceeds to inform his readers, that the ladies of Chiloe also wear hoops, which, "their petticoats being very short, give them a singular appearance." This was the dress of our great grandmothers, as may be seen in old family pictures, so that we must not say any thing to its disparagement; but with respect to the practice of smoking segars, to which these ladies are much addicted, we say, that its disuse seems to be the natural result of refinement, only the vulgar part of the sex, generally speaking, being advocates for its retention, in those countries which rank highest in civilization. There is, to those unaccustomed to the sight, something offensive in the appearance of clouds of smoke issuing from female lips. It seems as worthy of reprobation as some of those habits with which Juvenal, in his sixth satire, has so unsparingly upbraided the Roman ladies; yet we once witnessed it at the house of a senator in congress, and that, too, in that boasted seat of refinement, "the old dominion" of Virginia! The ladies of Chiloe are disinclined to exertion, and correspond too much with the inmates of Thomson's Castle of Indolence,

"Whose only labour was to kill the time,
And labour dire it was, and weary wo."

As riding on horseback is a favourite recreation in Chiloe, something must be subtracted from the poet's description. In connexion with this subject, the following passage is amusing.

"Riding on horseback, is a favorite recreation of both sexes; and it is an accomplishment in which both excel. The men, in particular, are the most expert horsemen that I have ever seen in any part of the world. Whether mounted on a wild, unbroken horse, or on a well tutored animal, they exhibit a grace, skill, and dexterity, which are truly surprising; and such is their tact in the management of the most spirited or vicious steed, that they very seldom get unseated. Like the Mamelukes, they accustom their horses to start with the quickness of the lightning's flash, and to stop as if struck by the bolt. I have seen them ride

with the speed of a race-horse, until within six feet of a house, and then stop as suddenly as if the animal had fallen dead on the spot: the rider still retaining his seat and equilibrium. I have also seen the same feat attempted on the open road, where the animal could not have anticipated the rider's intention. In such case, the horse would throw his feet forward, ploughing the ground with the hinder part of his hoofs, for two or three yards; and frequently fall on his haunches, in the sitting posture of a dog.

"The ladies, also, are very fond of those equestrian exercises; and most of them ride extremely well. Those of the higher class ride in the same manner as do our North American ladies; but their mode of getting upon the saddle would scarcely be tolerated by the latter. I received a lesson on this subject, at the house of my friend General Quantanilla, commander-in-chief of this island and its dependencies, where several ladies were assembled, for the purpose of amusing themselves with an equestrian excursion. I had not then met with an anecdote, exactly similar, as related by Captain Delano, or I should have profited by his experience. When the horses were brought to the door, and the fair equestrians were preparing to vault on their respective saddles, I, with a sailor's gallantry, singled out one of the prettiest and most sprightly of the group, to whom I tendered my assistance. The offer was graciously accepted, with a smile of bewitching kindness. She immediately advanced to a horse that was held by a servant, threw her arms over the saddle, leaning her swelling chest against the animal's side, then half turning her pretty face towards me, she bade me help her. *Si, señora*, I replied, in as gallant a manner as I could say—yes, madam,—and stood waiting for further orders. She still retained her singular position; and again exclaimed,—*Ayúdeme, usted amigo, queridito*,—Help me, my dear Sir. The awkwardness of my situation now became painful; for I could see no part of the lady, which my northern ideas of delicacy would allow me to touch. Her hands were beyond my reach, and a husband, or a father in my situation, might not have been embarrassed. A gentleman of the party, perceiving at once the nature of my embarrassment, and that I was a stranger to the customs of the country, immediately stepped forward to offer the lady that assistance she was expecting from me. Stooping behind her, he seized one of those delicate little ancles in each hand; at the same moment she sprang like a Vestris in the air, turning a half-pirouette, as she ascended, the gentleman dexterously crossing his arms to accommodate her change of position. In this manner, and in much less time than I have occupied in attempting to describe it, her ladyship was seated on the saddle, with the reins in her hand, and ready for the starting signal. The chagrin and mortification I felt, from being deprived of so pleasing an office through ignorance, were instantly removed by a consoling smile from the sparkling eyes of the fair equestrian, accompanied with the words,—*Pasado mañana, señor*,—intimating that the privilege should be mine on some other occasion. To my great satisfaction, such an occasion occurred the same evening; and she had the politeness to say, that I performed the office with the dexterity and grace of a Spanish *cabalero*.

"Some of the females, and not of the lowest class either, are far from being over scrupulous in their mode of sitting on horseback, as often riding with a foot on each side of the animal, as in any other way."

The description of their stirrups and saddles we omit; but the following paragraphs are necessary to complete the picture of Chiloean manner and customs.

"The sedentary amusements of the Chiloeans principally consist of music and card-playing; and this is particularly the case at St. Carlos. Their favourite instrument is the Spanish guitar, on which almost every female performs with pleasing effect, often accompanied with the sweetest voice I ever heard. They also play the harp, the spinnet, the harpsichord, and the piano-forte. The gentlemen play the flute and the clarionet; and both sexes dance with exquisite grace, accompanied with a due portion of Castilian dignity. Their principal dances are minuets, long dances, cotillions, and the celebrated fandango. The

latter is a very fascinating dance, performed by two persons, commonly by a lady and a gentleman, sometimes by two ladies.

"Card-tables are introduced at all their parties, the gentlemen playing by themselves, while the ladies amuse them with songs, accompanied by the guitar or the harp. Such gentlemen as do not fancy cards, have the privilege of joining the ladies—a privilege which I never forfeited by neglect."

As we deem it needless to follow our navigator to every port,—many unimportant circumstances being detailed by him, and many facts which concern none but those of his own profession,—we shall skip over all the intervening parts of his voyage from Chiloe to the Gallipagos. At Narborough, one of that cluster of islands, he witnessed the eruption of a volcano; but as in describing it, he departs from his usual simplicity, in order to produce effect, he appears to disadvantage. Let all persons unaccustomed to composition, bear in mind, that when they attempt display, they are likely to make themselves as ridiculous as those Polynesians, described by Mr. Stewart, who blended the savage and civilized garb in such laughable contrast. Instead of telling us that the lava ejected from the crater, after forming several streams resembling liquid fire, ran into the sea, where it occasioned tremendous uproar in its conflict with the water, Captain Morrell says—

"The demon of fire seemed rushing to the embraces of Neptune; and dreadful indeed was the uproar occasioned by their meeting. The ocean boiled and roared, and bellowed, as if a civil war had broken out in the Tartarean gulf, while the mountain still continued to belch forth its melted entrails."

So great was the heat from this eruption, that the thermometer rose to 147° in the air, and to 150° in the water, an intensity which rendered removal almost indispensable; though, from the experiment of Sir Joseph Banks, it is known that human life can be supported at a temperature of 52° above the boiling point of water. Had Captain Morrell been aware of that fact, he would probably have been under less apprehension respecting the consequences of the heat to which he was subjected.

In a late number of this journal, some extracts from Captain Beechey's voyage were given, the tendency of which was by no means favourable to the Roman Catholic missionaries in California; we deem it therefore an act of justice to those persons, to copy the following paragraph from the work now under notice, in order that, after having weighed the evidence on both sides, our readers may form a just conclusion.

"The condition, character, manners, habits, and customs, of the native Californians, have all been much improved, since a knowledge of Christianity was introduced among them by the Spanish Jesuits, and especially since the whole country has been annexed to Mexico. The arts of civilization have been introduced among them with the most salutary effects. Their manners have become softened; many of their superstitious ceremonies have been abolished; and agriculture has rapidly increased. * * * * No person of an unprejudiced mind could witness the labours of these Catholic missionaries, and contemplate the happy results of their philanthropic exertions, without confessing that they

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are unwearied in well-doing. The lives of these simple-hearted, benevolent men, are solely devoted to the temporal, and, as they think, eternal welfare of a race of savages, apparently abandoned by Providence to the lowest state of human degradation.

"These converted Indians have a very smart, active, friendly, and good-natured demeanour. Their features are handsome and well proportioned; their countenances are cheerful and interesting; and they are generally a very industrious, ingenious, and cleanly people. The sins of lying and stealing, are held by them in the utmost abhorrence, and they look upon them as the most heinous crimes of which a man can be guilty, murder alone excepted. They evince the most tender affection for their wives and children, by whom the feeling is reciprocated."

Captain Morrell, on his return home, had an interview with a tribe of equestrian Patagonians, by whom he was hospitably received and entertained. We would like to know whether these people were related to the Abipones, of whom the Jesuit, Dobrizhoffer, published an account. The Patagonians were represented by the old navigators, as a gigantic race; and we remember seeing an edition of Byron's *Narrative*, in which was a print, representing them as towering above the English, like Lombardy poplars among pines. The tallest man, however, whom Captain Morrell saw, was but six feet four inches; a height which would not be considered wonderful in Kentucky. He is of opinion that they have degenerated from their ancestors, as he saw the skeletons of persons who must, he says, have measured seven feet. This fact we shall not dispute, though as he does not state that he actually measured these skeletons, many may be sceptical concerning it; but we can, by no means, on so slight a foundation, admit his inference; since this opinion of the degeneracy of man, has been a favourite one from the time of Homer to the present day; and, as we believe, in disregard of evidence to the contrary. If mankind had been perpetually degenerating, they would, long ere now, have ceased to be the lords of the creation, unless, indeed, the inferior animals had, as Captain Morrell seems to imagine, declined in equal proportion—a supposition which it is superfluous to examine, as scarcely any one will embrace it. Amongst the antediluvians, indeed, there were giants, as we find from the book of Genesis; but, since the flood—the Ogs and the Goliaths being only exceptions—men have continued much the same, though some races, like the Patagonians, may have been distinguished for superiority of stature, and others, like the Laplanders, for their diminutiveness. If, however, the skeletons which Mr. Flint mentions having seen in Ohio, were really those of human beings, it would seem either that the race of Indians has prodigiously increased, or that another race, inclined to the Lilliputian, peopled the western wilderness, anterior to the settlement of the present. Should future researches corroborate Mr. Flint's opi-

nions, the progressive decline of animal nature must, at any rate, be abandoned as untenable.

Captain Morrell's third voyage offers scarcely a paragraph that we deem worth extracting. He visited several of the Cape Verd Islands, concerning which he gives us little or no novel information—the Cape of Good Hope, about which he relates particulars taken from other authors—and various parts of the coast to the north-west of the Cape. His description of a slave-ship, is like all similar descriptions, horrible in the extreme. It gives force to the impassioned exclamation of Cowper:—

“ Then what is man ?—And what man seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man !”

From the present aspect of affairs in Brazil—the only country which of late years has carried on the slave-trade with Africa extensively—we are led to hope that the time is approaching, when that abominable traffic will no longer disgrace the Christian name. Once completely abolished, the internal and coasting slave trade of this country cannot, we believe, be maintained much longer, it being in principle little or no better—and, except that it is conducted more humanely, as outrageous to the feelings of mankind. Already, considerable indignation has been manifested against it both in Maryland and Virginia, particularly in the latter; and the spell by which the voice of justice was hushed, being now broken, we may expect that it will not be raised in vain. When justice and mercy unite, as in the present instance, callous must be the heart that is not moved.

Of the Hottentots, our voyager gives a more cheering account than some of his predecessors. He says there is no more danger to a stranger who travels among them, than there is among the Indians in the State of New York. He found them peaceable, civil, and honest. Their physiognomy, however, is far from prepossessing: the only beauty they have, in the estimation of the whites, being their regular white teeth; for their eyes have the Tartar peculiarity of the outer angle. The females are distinguished by a physical phenomenon well known to naturalists, but which it would perhaps be improper to specify here. Those who are curious on the subject, may examine Dugliss's Physiology, where they will find it accurately described.

When off Penguin Island, Captain Morrell witnessed a sand-tornado, which approached within a cable's length of his vessel, and sensibly raised the temperature of the atmosphere, while a sulphureous odour was perceptible. It appeared of a conical figure, fifteen feet or upwards in circumference, and two hundred high: so that it is not surprising that the effects of such a body should often be disastrous and fatal.

The fourth and last voyage, which we are now to examine, was begun in the autumn of 1829, and, as being the most recent, may afford more materials for our journal, than the three preceding. Like Mr. Earle, of whose wanderings we gave an account in a former number, Captain Morrell visited Tristan d'Acunha and New Zealand. He found Glass, the governor, as he is styled, of Tristan d'Acunha, living comfortably with his little community, in that romantic island

"Placed far amid the melancholy main."

They manifested the utmost kindness to their visitors; so that the old complaint about the boorishness of islanders, is, probably, like many other general censures, nearly unfounded on fact. The reception experienced by Wilson in the Pelew Islands, so familiar to those who have read the life of Lee Boo, and the testimony of Cook to the hospitality and other virtues of the Polynesians, ought to abate, if not to remove the force of the complaint.

Mr. Earle, it may be remembered, gives an unfavourable account both of the New Zealand missionaries and of their success: not so Captain Morrell; and having inserted his statement respecting the Catholic missionaries in California, we now give his other concerning the Protestant missionaries in New Zealand:—

"Not long previous to our arrival, the natives had risen on the missionaries, who had been established here but a short time; and it was with great difficulty that these disinterested labourers in the cause of humanity escaped with their lives. They succeeded, however, in reaching the Bay of Islands, where they found protection. Such are the perils and hardships which these good people voluntarily encounter and endure, in their god-like attempts to civilize and humanize the savage islanders of the Pacific Ocean; and yet their services have been decried, and even their motives questioned, by those who cannot conceive such a thing as disinterested benevolence. But New Zealand itself is a splendid proof of the utility of missionary labours. There are many parts of that country which it was once dangerous for a ship to approach, unless she was well armed, and with her officers and crew continually on their guard. But, thanks to the missionaries for their pious and humane exertions, which have been rewarded by the blessing of Heaven, ships may now anchor in safety in many of those very harbours where the greatest danger was once to be apprehended, and obtain supplies at the most reasonable rate, with many testimonies of kindness and hospitality. * * * * * This place was once inhabited by wild and ferocious cannibals; but, through the philanthropic labours of missionaries, the natives here and in the vicinity have become civilized, friendly, hospitable, and anxious to do good to others. Indolence and filthiness have given place to industry and personal cleanliness; ferocity to gentleness; ignorance to intelligence; idolatry to the pure religion of the gospel. * * *"

"Agreeably to previous arrangements, I attended Mrs. Morrell to the missionary establishment, which she was anxious to visit. We were accompanied by three English captains, and were met on the beach by the Rev. Mr. Williams, who appeared to be very much rejoiced to see us. After a mutual interchange of the customary courtesies, he conducted us to his house, and introduced us to his amiable family—a lovely wife and two very interesting daughters. In this missionary establishment, the most admirable system of order prevails, which I have ever witnessed. They rise every morning at day-break, when the labouring

natives assemble, and the day is opened with prayer. After despatching a hasty, but wholesome breakfast, they repair to the field, each missionary dressed in his coarse frock and trowsers, carrying in his hand a hoe or spade, or some other agricultural implement. Here they labour all the forenoon, with as much industry and perseverance as any of our New England farmers, until the hour of mid-day, when they all partake of an excellent dinner, preceded by prayers, and followed by a brief return of thanks. After this, they again repair to the field, and continue to work until four o'clock : when the labours of the day are finished, the two following hours being appropriated to amusement and recreation. They assemble at six o'clock, and partake of a light supper, after which the natives receive lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or hear a religious lecture. At nine o'clock, the day is closed with prayer. While the missionaries are thus occupied with the male natives, their wives and daughters are equally busy with the females, teaching them reading, writing, and needle-work. Thus these good people devote their whole time in labouring to promote the temporal as well as the eternal welfare of the natives of New Zealand. Several handsome specimens of their writing were shown us, together with some pieces of original composition, that evinced no ordinary degree of talent. I heard some of them read with great accuracy both in English and in their own tongue, which latter the missionaries have so reduced to a grammatical system, that it has become a written and printed language. Mrs. Morrell examined several specimens of needle-work executed by the female natives, which she pronounced to be equal to any thing of the kind she had ever seen.

"A very pretty village encircles the mission, the buildings of which are mostly framed, and built like the houses in our country villages. The better sort, however, are built of stone, and handsomely painted. All of them are whitewashed, and have beautiful gravel-walks in front, with neatly cultured gardens in their rear. Some of the natives have become ingenious mechanics, as well as experienced and skilful farmers. Thus those plains, which, but a few years ago, were the scenes of bloodshed and human sacrifices, have been converted into comfortable plantations and fields for innocent amusement; where the horrid rites of pagan superstition were once performed, are now erected altars consecrated to the one true and only living God. After spending a few hours at this delightful establishment, which my wife reckons among the pleasantest in her whole life, we took an affectionate leave of our excellent friends, and proceeded to the beach, attended by several of the Christian natives, who parted from us with great reluctance. On shoving off, they exclaimed, as with one voice—"Farewell, good Americans ! gentleman and lady, God bless you !"

This account of the missionaries, so different from that of Mr. Earle, renders it somewhat difficult to form a correct judgment respecting them, especially when we consider that as great a discrepancy is observable between the representations of another body of missionaries, by Stewart, Tyerman and Bennet, on the one side, and by Captains Beechey and Kotzebue, on the other. The conclusion to which we ourselves have come, after carefully examining the evidence on both sides, is this : that a great and salutary change has been effected in the character and habits of the islanders of the Pacific Ocean—but that the friends of the missionaries have not only overrated the degree of this change, but have claimed for them more than is their due, even in what is really accomplished. We do not believe, for instance, that Captain Morrell is justified in asserting that the New Zealanders resident near the mission have become *civilized*: for the transmutation of savages into civilized beings is not to be expected in a short time, nor often in one generation ; and even if

his assertion were proved to be true, the whole merit would not lie with the missionaries, unless it can be shown that commerce has no effect in civilizing mankind. Now, according to Mr. Earle, the New Zealanders had become so far civilized by commerce, before a single one had been converted to Christianity, as to render it safe for vessels to enter their rivers. It appears, accordingly, that the increased intercourse of the southern whalers with those people, has been, to say the least, a powerful auxiliary in the work of civilization. We have no desire to disparage the effects of missionary labours; we wish only to check that intemperate eulogium of them which is more likely to retard than to promote the cause of Christianity. To the missionaries great praise is due for the introduction of the mechanic arts—and for their endeavours, happily crowned with considerable success, to infuse the peaceable and pure spirit of the gospel into the feelings of merciless warriors and bloody idolaters. With this praise *they* will no doubt be satisfied, and so ought to be their advocates at home; but some of the latter sometimes exceed the bounds of moderation.

Respecting the cannibalism of the New Zealanders, Captain Morrell has fallen into error when he asserts, as he does positively, that it is never practised by savages to gratify a physical but a moral appetite, namely, that of insatiable revenge; for, besides the clear testimony of Earle and Rutherford, both of whom had better opportunities of judging than he, and which is directly opposed to his, there is in Southey's History of Brazil, evidence no less strong, that the aborigines of that country regarded human flesh as a luxury! Casual visiters, as navigators generally are, should state facts without hastily deducing inferences.

Another error, though a trifling one, is that of giving the missionaries credit for having reduced the native language to a grammatical system, that work having been effected for them by Mr. Lee, who, though originally a journeyman carpenter, is, or lately was Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, England. The extraordinary attainments of that gentleman in oriental literature enabled him to trace analogies which must have escaped common minds, and to form a vocabulary having affinity in its orthography to cognate dialects. Two peculiarities of the language, and which Captain Morrell has not mentioned, are these; the iteration of a dissyllable to form one word, as *kiddy-kiddy*, *pattoo-pattoo*; and the notation, which is neither decimal nor duodecimal, but undecimal. The cause of the latter seems inexplicable; for though the fingers might easily suggest enumeration by tens, and convenience by twelves, we know of nothing that could lead to the adoption of that by elevens.

We must now conduct our readers to the Massacre Islands, the discovery of which is claimed by Captain Morrell, and dis-

play the horrid scene there witnessed. This cluster of islands, like many others in the Pacific, is in a circular form, that being generally if not always the result of the labours of the coral insect. The lagoon which they encompass is in about 4° south latitude, and 156° east longitude. The following is our author's account of his first interview with the natives.

"As soon as the Antarctic was moored, and the sails furled, the natives, nearly as dark-skinned as Africans, and almost totally naked, began to assemble round her, at a respectful distance, in their light canoes, evincing the usual symptoms of curiosity, wonder, and timidity. They came within about a hundred yards of the vessel, and then lay on their oars, or rather paddles, as if afraid to approach any nearer. On observing this, I displayed a white flag, as a token of amity on our part, and held up to their view several strings of beads and other articles, which glittered in the sun. This finally induced them to venture alongside, when they appeared to be struck with astonishment and awe, on surveying the vessel's hull, spars, rigging, &c.; but nothing, for some time would induce them to ascend the side. I soon distinguished one among their number, whom I set down as a chief or ruler; and whom, for the want of a more appropriate name, I shall call Nero. He was most splendidly, or rather fantastically ornamented with rows of shells and wreaths of flowers, about his ebony head, neck, and waist; while his arms and legs were adorned with rings or bracelets of the richest tortoise shell. After a long time, I succeeded in persuading him with a few of his followers, to venture on board; but not without considerable doubt and hesitancy on their part. But who can accurately depict their astonishment when they first stepped on deck? They seemed to be struck dumb and stupid with amazement, nor would they advance a step from the gangway, until I took Nero by the arm, and with due demonstrations of courtesy, led him aft. A little re-assured by the friendliness of my deportment, and the cordiality of his reception, he began by degrees to recover from his astonishment, and to become curiously inquisitive. He examined in rapid succession the masts, rigging, sails, deck, hatches, pump, binnacle, cables, anchors, whale-boats, and every thing that met his eye; flying from one object to another, feeling them with both hands, inquiring the use of every thing, but never waiting for an answer, immediately laying hold of something else. He at last jumped about the deck like a madman, alternately laughing, and uttering exclamations of astonishment. When any thing struck him in a peculiar manner, he would instantly cry out, *Rett-stiller!* signifying *fine!* His sable attendants also took great interest in the objects around them; but they did not presume to give their feelings utterance, in the presence of their chief, who ultimately proved to be the grand chief, or emperor of the whole group.

"I invited Nero to descend with me into the cabin; but he declined, until three of his people should have first tried the hazardous experiment. He accordingly gave his orders, which they obeyed with evident reluctance, descending the steps after me with the greatest caution and timidity. Their feet had scarcely touched the floor, however, when their fears gave place to surprise and admiration, at the great number of shining muskets, bright brass-barrelled pistols, and glittering cutlasses, which decorated almost every part of the cabin. They covered their dazzled eyes with their hands, and exclaimed *Rett-stiller!* which was instantly echoed by their companions on deck. I then showed them a mirror, which at first struck them with terror, so that for some minutes they seemed bewildered with astonishment, gazing alternately at each other, and at the image in the glass: but as soon as they recognised their own ebony features, they embraced each other, made the most ridiculous grimaces, laughed immoderately, and shouted with joy. Nero, on hearing this, could no longer resist his own desire and their solicitations for him to descend; and with one leap he was in the cabin; on looking around which, his exclamations of surprise and pleasure surpassed all bounds: indeed they all looked and acted like wild,

frantic children, although more than one of them bore evident marks of old age.

"On our returning to the deck, we found several more canoes alongside, with natives, equally dark and naked, from the other islands; who appeared incredulous to the marvellous stories which their friends on board were telling them; but they were soon convinced by ocular demonstration, that the half was not told them. They were then shown the cook's house and offered some bread and meat; but they declined taking it with an expression indicative of loathing.

"The guns next excited the attention of the sable chief, who expressed great solicitude to know their nature and use; but it was neither convenient nor politic to gratify his curiosity respecting them at that time. However, I took a little powder and flashed it before them. At this they were so terrified that they fell flat on their faces; but on finding themselves unhurt, they recovered their feet and their composure, and intimated that I must possess the power of making thunder and lightning. When their curiosity had at length become somewhat gratified, and their excitement had subsided, I distributed a few presents to Nero and his principal attendants, for which they expressed no little gratitude. Nero seemed to be outdone in acts of civility, and therefore immediately sent off the canoes, which soon returned loaded with cocoa-nuts, which he begged me to accept."

After this interview, Captain Morrell, went on shore, and was entertained at Nero's house with fish and fruits. He presented his wife with some beads, a knife, and a pair of scissors, articles which delighted them; and she and her attendants in return, gave him some of the shells with which their persons were ornamented. From the girls he received some mats, and from the chiefs feather bonnets, embellished with coral. The colour of his skin excited extraordinary interest, and when Nero had satisfied himself that it was natural and not artificial, he harangued his people on the phenomenon. In the midst of this transaction, they suddenly began to sing, all, old and young, joining in the chorus; and the Captain, taking this as a compliment to himself, acknowledged it by bows and smiles. Before returning to the ship, he was presented by his host with more cocoa-nuts, also with plantains, bananas, and fish.

He describes these people as tall, well proportioned, muscular, and active; with well shaped heads, black sparkling eyes, and small feet and hands. Being tattooed about the face and breast, their aspect, when not softened by a smile, is resolute and ferocious. The women are distinguished by slender waists, small, round faces, and fine white teeth. Both sexes are nearly, as to dress, in the state of nature, having, however, shells, bones, and teeth, hung about them for ornaments. Their weapons are bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and axes. Their canoes are constructed of a solid log, about twenty feet long.

Captain Morrell prepared, a few days after the interview above described, to set about building a house, suitable for drying *biche de-mer* in. The natives were delighted with the operation, particularly with the felling of the trees, the rapidity of which astonished them, as well it might, ignorant as they had

been of the use of iron. He afterwards made a garden, in which he sowed various sorts of seed, and planted edible roots; and letting a chief know that a fence was necessary, men were set to work, and one was soon completed. On the following day, a forge was erected; but when the natives saw the sparks fly from the heated iron, they moved off in terror. Captain Morrell succeeded, however, in convincing the chief that there was no cause for alarm, and having ordered the smith to make a harpoon, he presented it to him. He also presented another to Nero, and some fish-hooks to the other chiefs: by which gifts their friendship appeared to be secured. Shortly after, some things being stolen from the forge, the Captain acquainted Nero with the circumstance, and desired that they might be restored. The request was promptly complied with; but, on making a second complaint, Nero let him know that he would give himself no trouble about the business. It now became apparent that he and Henneen, the chief above-mentioned, were in confederacy: and that unless some other means were resorted to, the missing articles would not be recovered; accordingly, the Captain, returning to his vessel, armed six of the crew with pistols, muskets, and cutlasses, and then returned to the beach, determined either to regain his property, or to seize and detain Henneen as a hostage. On landing, a native offering himself as guide to Henneen's village, they accepted his services; but, on emerging from a thicket, they saw with astonishment about two hundred warriors armed, and ready for battle, directly in their road, with an equal number on the opposite side, so that they were completely encompassed by their enemies!

"I now," says Captain Morrell, "threw my musket on the ground, took a pistol in my right hand, and my cutlass in the other, and ordered two of my men to follow my example. I then gave such orders as I deemed requisite to the other four, and proceeded in my plan of operations. In the meantime, Henneen was making a speech to his band of warriors; but I was in search of higher game—diligently surveying the whole circle of savages, till my eyes at length rested on Nero, their king, who had stationed himself on the opposite side of the ring. Henneen had now concluded his speech, and the savages were fixing their arrows to their bow-strings, ready for a general discharge. With a cool, calm audacity, which rendered these savages motionless with amazement, I advanced to their astonished monarch, with my pistol presented to his breast, while my two trusty followers, with firmness equally deliberate, took their stations on each side of him, and held their cutlasses suspended over his head, having my orders to sever it from his body, the moment an arrow was discharged from a bow at any one of our party. In adopting this plan, I hoped that, during the confusion that would necessarily follow the death of the king, some of us might escape. Struck with horror at the perilous situation of their monarch, the savages suddenly paused in the very act of notching their arrows, which now dropped from the slackened bowstring, and lay at their feet. The moment we perceived the happy effect of this hasty measure; and while confusion reigned in the ranks of these blood-thirsty villains, we walked round the circle with drawn cutlasses, and compelled every one to lay down his bow, war-club, &c. which weapons were quickly collected into one heap by my other brave lads. This being done, his terrified Majesty, whose nerves had been so shocked by

this hasty transaction that he could hardly stand, was escorted to the beach, and was given in charge to Mr. Wallace, who had that moment landed from the schooner in another boat; while five of the principal chiefs were marched to our boat, and were soon on the deck of the Antarctic, where we returned thanks to Heaven for our miraculous deliverance."

The safety of all being thus ensured, Captain Morrell's object was to restore confidence and friendship. For this purpose, he treated his captives with the best of every thing the vessel could supply, and amused them with music and a dance, loaded them with presents, and returned them to their friends: yet, on the following day—so treacherous are savages—a massacre took place. While the ship's crew were employed, some on shore, some on the water, Captain Morrell was suddenly alarmed by hearing the terrific war-whoop of the savages. He immediately discharged a cannon, the shot of which did no execution: but the report indicated to his men that hostilities had commenced. Two of his officers, three mechanics, and seven seamen were killed, and several wounded, while the loss on the part of the enemy was supposed to be much greater. By means of a telescope, Captain Morrell ascertained that the bodies of the slain were mangled for a cannibal feast. Horror-struck at the spectacle, he steered for Manilla. Having there recruited his forces, he returned, after the lapse of fifteen weeks, to his old station, where he was again attacked by the natives, who, however, were so alarmed by his guns, that they made a precipitate retreat. He now resolved to discharge a broadside on their town, considering that if any of his missing seamen were living, there might, by that means, be a chance of recovering them; nor was he in error—for soon after, a canoe was seen approaching, in which was seated a miserable-looking being, painted, and nearly naked, and who proved to be a man named Shaw. His sufferings, by his account, had been heart-rending, having, while a slave to Henneen, been treated with ignominy and cruelty: but the affectionate reception he met with from his captain and comrades, and the reflection that he was restored to civilized life, soon made him forget his woes. The relation of his adventures occupies several pages.

Scuffles between the crew and the natives taking place soon after this, all hope of obtaining a supply of *biche-de-mer* was abandoned; so that probably many years will elapse before any considerable commerce will be established with the Massacre Islands. That the first intercourse between the savages of this group and civilized Americans, should have been so bloody and disastrous, is lamentable; but before we lay all the blame on them, we ought to be furnished with their statement of the cause of their violence, since, however disposed Captain Morrell may have been to speak the truth, it is almost impossible to form a right judgment from hearing one side only. Where

signs are used instead of language, mistakes are unavoidable: hence a wrong construction is often put on the actions of the opposite party; and it is easily conceivable that the savages may have been impressed with a belief that the foreigners meditated the conquest of the country. Should that have been the case, what is called their perfidy, would have been regarded by themselves as justifiable policy. Certain it is, that since missionaries have learnt the Polynesian languages, and heard the explanations of the people respecting certain horrible transactions, their apparent atrocity has been diminished, as those objects which are obscure and terrific from distance, are found, on approaching them, to have nothing repulsive.

The following description of a part of the world rarely visited, will be read with interest, and will perhaps furnish a theme to some future poet—though he will find its most essential ingredients already embodied by the genius of Thomson, in that exquisite poem, the *Castle of Indolence*:—

“We continued on our passage through St. George’s Channel, which is formed by the west side of New Ireland, and the east side of New Britain. This channel or strait has been represented by Captain Carteret as being the most beautiful passage ever formed by nature. The lofty hills on each side appear to tower above the clouds, and are covered to their very summits with forests of gigantic growth. These mighty eminences, in their gradual descent towards the shores, gently decline into an undulating surface of plains and valleys, swelling mounds, level lawns, and meadows of the deepest green. These are intersected with crystal streams, and interspersed with groves of the richest foliage—with fruits, flowers, plants, and herbs, besides many highly valuable drugs and minerals. Among the vegetable productions of larger size is the sandal-wood, which, as if conscious of its innate worth, grows only in the most elevated situations. The less aspiring ebony is content with an humbler station, where it is surrounded by many valuable dye-woods, and woods of various kinds suitable for fine cabinet-work. But the richest production of these two islands is the nutmeg-tree, which grows spontaneously to an immense size in many parts of the interior.

“The population of these islands is small, but the inhabitants appear to be intelligent; and were they to introduce the pepper and coffee plants, I have not the least doubt, that long before another century elapses, they would become the richest islands of the eastern world. The climate and soil are unequalled in excellence, and admirably adapted to each other. The waters around these islands are also tributary to their aggregate wealth. The *biche-de-mer* abounds on their coral reefs; the pearl-oyster, equal in quality to that of the Sooloo sea, is found at a moderate depth, and the hawk’s-bill-tortoise, yielding the most valuable shell, frequents the beach. The red coral is also found here, and ambergris, the richest production of the ocean.

“We had frequent communications with the natives of New Ireland. We also landed on some uninhabited parts of their coast, and penetrated into their forests for a considerable distance. In these rambles we saw a great variety of birds, some of exquisite song, and others of beautiful plumage—seldom both combined; but they were all perfectly tame. A very extensive and highly valuable collection might be made on this island by a practical ornithologist, without much labour or difficulty. Of quadrupeds we saw none but hogs and dogs, the most of which were running wild. We met with several different kinds of serpents, but none that are common to our country. Insects cannot be very numerous, as we saw but few.

“Wood, water, and fruit of the best quality, may be obtained with ease at any

of the harbours on the west side of the island; and in some of the ports you may purchase hogs and poultry at your own price. The waters are teeming with fish of the greatest variety and most delicate flavour, all of which are easily caught. Nature, in fact, seems to have lavished her favours on these islands in the greatest profusion, every thing growing spontaneously. The natives neither plough nor dig. Their bread grows upon trees in abundance, and their drink is the delicious milk of the cocoa-nut."

Attractive as the above description is, we are not sure that the one of Singapore will not be deemed more beautiful, so we shall let our readers judge.

"No island or coast in or around the Mediterranean Sea, can rival Singapore in salubrity of climate, fertility of soil, or beauty of scenery. Its air is deliciously balmy, its shrubbery luxuriant. Health and beauty here revel together. Nature is dressed in ever-changing but never-fading charms; and her sunny smiles are ever reflected from the human countenance.

"From the dawn of day until some time after sunrise, the most sparkling fable of Turkey, Persia, or all the East, is fully realized in Singapore. Every leaf, and flower, and spray, and blade of grass, is gemmed with dew-drops of extraordinary clearness and beauty. These have imbibed so much of the vegetable fragrance, that, when they begin to exhale in the increasing warmth of the solar ray, the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful perfumes, and every passing zephyr scatters grateful odours from its wings. This is the hour for healthful recreation. The roads are now crowded with carriages, and with equestrians of both sexes, while the fields and meadows, the lawns, hills, and valleys, are sprinkled with pedestrians, some in groups, others in pairs, and many in contemplative solitude. When the sun has attained a somewhat higher altitude, and the stragglers begin to feel the potency of his beams, they all repair to their dwellings, with a keenly sharpened appetite for the luxurious breakfast that awaits them.

"The island of Singapore is abundantly supplied with all kinds of provisions, vegetables, and fruits, any of which may be purchased at a very low rate. Wood and water are easily obtained; and fish may be caught all around the island in any quantities. All these advantages, with many others which do not immediately occur to my mind, render this place—what it has often been called—the Paradise of India.

"I accompanied a small party to the most elevated part of the island. The road, or rather pathway, to this eminence, is quite narrow, being not more than ten or twelve feet in width, and must have been cut with almost incredible labour, through a forest of gigantic trees, the umbrageous foliage of which uniting above, screens it from the fervid rays of a tropical sun, and veils it in a cool, pensive, contemplative gloom. The birds carolled sweetly in the branches above our heads. We were well mounted; and though some parts of this romantic avenue are steep and rugged, our gallant steeds succeeded in scaling the little precipices with comparative ease and safety. After a fatiguing ascent of more than two hours, we at length reached the summit, where a prospect suddenly opened, which amply repaid us for all our previous labours.

"Standing on the highest point or pinnacle of the island, with nothing to obstruct the vision in any direction, I first directed my attention to the north. There lay the lovely peninsula of Malaya, basking in the life-giving sunbeams, with its wood-fringed hills, verdant plains, and luxurious valleys; agreeably interspersed with stupendous precipices, gaping chasms, turbulent, foaming cataracts, and silvery cascades, sparkling in the light. In one place was a mountain torrent, tumbling down a succession of adamantine ridges, foaming, and raging, and fretting, and dashing head-long through its devious course, down to the plains below. In another direction flowed a glassy river, gently meandering through grassy meads, till it united with its more restive neighbour in a lake or bay, where the crystal waves lay at rest, reflecting the inverted scenery with the lucidity of a mirror.

"The eye leaves this romantic picture with reluctance, and turning a little more westwardly, instinctively falls at the foot of the hill on which we were standing. Here it ranges with delight over a fertile champaign, diversified with thriving plantations, gardens, groves of cocoa-nut trees, betel, areca, and various other trees and shrubbery, until it reaches the serpentine strait that separates the island from the main; a picturesque channel with a placid surface, faintly reflecting the imperfect images of the floating clouds above.

"On directing the view to the south-east, the harbour of Singapore, with its numerous shipping, lies in striking relief before you. Majestic East-Indiamen, Malay proas, Chinese junks, country ships, grabs, with an endless variety of small craft from Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the adjacent islands, are thickly scattered over the bay.

"Turning to the south-west, the coast of Sumatra presents an extensive plain, thickly covered with forests, through which flow several rivers, navigable by the country proas to the very bases of the mountains where they take their rise. A lofty ridge of these elevations runs through the whole island from north to south. In almost every direction are coasts studded with small islands; while, to the far west, a cloudless sky and an unruffled sea, sprinkled with vessels of various descriptions, complete a circular prospect of unrivalled beauty and magnificence. We were all delighted;—the ladies were enraptured."

We must now draw this article to a close. We have heard doubts expressed concerning Mr. Morrell's veracity; but while some parts of his work bear internal evidence of their credibility, and the rest may be, as far as we can discern, received without much misgiving, we are not inclined to strengthen these doubts by carping objections. The part of the Pacific in which his principal alleged discoveries are placed, has been comparatively little explored, and though we are not fully satisfied that he is the first navigator who ever saw the Massacre Islands, and some other groups, the discovery of which he claims, we are not prepared to show that any prior navigator is entitled to the honour. In addition to the discoveries publicly announced, he mentions that there are others, which, *for obvious reasons*, he conceals. These reasons can only be, that, by keeping his secret, he may obtain a cargo of *biche-de-mer*, pearls, &c., on better terms than if other persons came in competition with him. But is the present age one, in which concealment can effect any useful purpose? Besides, though the latitude and longitude of the unvisited islands are not given, their situation is pointed out with sufficient nearness, to enable any other enterprising man to find them.

In composition, Captain Morrell so perpetually violates all established rules, that in making extracts, we have not adhered strictly to his language, though we have been careful to convey his meaning. We might have made still further alterations with evident improvement, but we were unwilling to appear captious. Should he hereafter resume authorship, let him avoid all attempts at display, particularly of acquaintance with books, and of poetical fancy, and restrict himself to telling a plain tale in plain language; he will then be less suspected and more admired.

ART. IV.—FORTIFICATION AND SIEGES.

- 1.—*Journal of the Siege of Antwerp, from Galignani's Messenger.* Paris: 1832.
- 2.—*De La Defense des Places Fortes.* Par M. CARNOT, *Membre de la Legion d' Honneur, de l'Institut Imperial de France, &c.* Paris: 1812.
- 3.—*A Treatise on Artillery, to which is added a Summary of Military Reconnoitring, of Fortification, of the Attack and Defence of Places, and of Castrametation.* By H. LALLEMAND, *General of the Artillery of the late Imperial Guard of France.* New York: 1820. C. S. Van Winkle.

MAN, says one of Scott's heroines, is by nature a pugnacious animal. If the progress of civilization and knowledge, the restraints of law, the influence of social institutions and religion, render the deadly contests of individuals less and less frequent, and have in all Christian countries put an end to private wars, still the age is yet far distant when nations shall cease to resort to the *ultima ratio regum*, to resist real or fancied aggressions, or to avenge the insults offered to their pride. Indeed if we do not misconceive the spirit of the age, the time is at hand when more obstinate struggles than the world has witnessed for ages, are about to commence, to determine the great question between despotism and liberal principles of government. This war when it does actually begin, will not be the scientific operation of those who practise it as a profession, and lead to the combat mercenaries hired and paid to perform their bidding, or conscripts dragged from their homes to peril themselves for interests not their own; but will see banded, at least upon one side, those who willingly brave danger, fatigue, and death itself, to support the principles on which they consider their own honour and the happy condition of posterity must depend.

The citizen has, in Europe, long ceased to regard himself as in any way called upon to perform the obligations of the soldier. Kingdoms are now conquered when their armies are dispersed; and the most numerous and hardy populations submit without resistance to the temporary occupation of an invading force, or silently acquiesce in their transfer by treaty to new rulers. The temporary excitement that threw armed millions to the frontiers of France, to repel the monarchs leagued to crush its revolution; and the guerilla warfare of the Spanish peninsula, have furnished the sole exceptions to the rule. Recently, however, the population of a vast metropolis has flown to arms, and in the garb of citizens overthrew and crushed the discipline of regular troops.

The example of Paris has been imitated at Brussels and Warsaw; and it is again ascertained that stout arms and resolute hearts may combat with success, although the ceremonies of parade, and uniformity of arms or dress be wanting.

Since the close of the wars between the professors of the Catholic and reformed religions, and of that between the king and parliament in England, little reason has existed why the tradesman should lay by his tools, or the husbandman his plough; the contests that have occurred have exercised too small an influence upon individual happiness, to demand the sacrifice of time or labour from private citizens, or even to cause them to intermit for a moment their customary avocations.

Wars have in consequence been conducted at a far less expense of human suffering, than when they involved the passions and interests of a whole community. In no respect is this amelioration more marked than in the conduct of the defence of fortified places. It is now a mathematical problem, susceptible of the closest investigation, how many days a fortress is to be defended without involving the defenders in disgrace. And this we cannot but think is not more the result of the improvements in the art of attack, than of the different spirit and motives with which the defence is conducted. The time has been, when the capture of fortified places, and these were often cities of importance, involved their residents in misfortunes more to be dreaded than death itself. In those days the inhabitants were themselves the defenders of the walls; women and children joined in their labours, and partook of their dangers; while the success of the attack led to the separation of friends and relations, and the dispersion of the population in hopeless slavery, when the ties of family and even a national name, were for ever lost. Now the inhabitants of a fortified city have no other interest than to procure a capitulation, providing for the safety of private property; every day of siege exposes them to dangers and deprivations for which they have no compensation; and their greatest peril arises from such obstinacy on the part of the defenders, as shall expose the place to be taken by assault.

Even in fortresses, that contain no private habitations, the military garrison has every thing to gain by shortening the period of its resistance. The condition even of a prisoner of war in modern times, is less grievous than that of a military man undergoing the privations incident to a state of siege, and it is therefore consistent with all the feelings of nature, that the private soldiers should desire the day of capitulation, as putting a period to their labours and sufferings. The policy of the attackers fosters this feeling, by granting what are styled honourable terms of surrender—terms that are generally the more liberal the less strenuous has been the defence. Officers holding re-

sponsible stations, and all who have a feeling of military honour, will no doubt strive to subdue such desires, by the influence of discipline, but they are too strong to be suppressed for any long period of time, and must finally prevail. If, however, the time shall return when whole populations shall contend for all that is dear to them, we may anticipate that the boasted superiority of the art of attack will be met by obstinacy and resolution; and the powers of defence and resistance will be found more formidable than they have been considered for upwards of a century.

These reflections have been suggested by the occurrence of an event, once so familiar as hardly to excite attention, namely, the siege of a fortified place; and this from the rarity of other military enterprises, has been invested with an importance that has not been allowed to actions of a similar nature, since the age of Louis XIV.

The earliest establishment of the human race in organized civil society, led to the construction of fortifications. At this epoch the confines of the highest existing refinement, and of the grossest barbarism, were closely connected. The husbandmen who occupied rich and fertile plains, and by their labours furnished the food of the artisans who peopled the neighbouring city, saw upon the surrounding mountains, the fires of fierce and hungry hunters, who watched for an opportunity of plundering their harvests and carrying themselves into captivity; or were environed by pastoral and predatory bands, whose rapid advance forestalled resistance, and whose retreat defied pursuit.

Hence cities became the residence, not only of the trading and manufacturing, but also of the agricultural portion of civilized societies. These cities were easily rendered defensible against mere predatory attacks, by walls of the simplest structure. Africa in many parts still presents to us a sample of this early state of society, and the industrious part of its population, defy by mud enclosures, all the means of attack possessed by their wandering neighbours.

Under such circumstances, each city became the nucleus of a community, and within its walls was organized a discipline that first afforded the means of active defence, then of the subjugation of its surrounding foes, and finally furnished its rulers with the power of extending their sway over other similar communities. In this manner the kingdoms of Asia arose, and were finally extended into empires, embracing the whole extent of the civilized society of the age. So also in another direction, Rome by slow and gradual means reduced the neighbouring tribes beneath her sway, and by a wise system of amalgamation

accumulated those means of attack with which the world was subjected to her empire.

As the force of states was increased by their conquests, and ambition became a more powerful stimulus to exertion, the means of attack were improved and extended. These were in turn met by the resources of the defence, and the scale alternately inclined to one side or the other, according to the varied progress of the art of war.

At first no other means of attack presented themselves but boldly to press up to the fortifications, and surmount them by escalade. This system was met in low countries by rendering the walls inaccessible by deep ditches filled with water; in other situations by choosing the most abrupt and inaccessible heights. The foot of the walls was defended by projecting battlements covered in front by a parapet, and open at intervals beneath to permit the passage of missiles. These battlements covered the whole person, but admitted of active defence in front through loop-holes. To overcome these resistances, the catapulta was invented, throwing stones of a mass sufficient to crush the parapets; the battering-ram appeared, of power sufficient to crumble the firmest wall; the latter was carried over the ditches by causeways, and up the steepest ascents upon inclined planes; the attack was protected by towers propelled upon wheels; these were again raised to such a height as to overtop the walls, and permit the assailants to descend to their platforms. Finally, military mines were introduced, by which large extents of the wall were undermined, and after being propped during the progress of the work, permitted to fall at the same instant by setting fire to the supports. With such means, the entrance into the strongest works became assured. To prevent such entrance being fatal to the defenders, the circuit of fortresses was divided into portions by towers, too high to be overtopped by any work of the besiegers, or be reached by escalade even from the summit of the walls; these became separate and independent fortresses, and when connected from within by a new work, or *retrenchment*, formed an obstacle to the besieger not less formidable than that he had already surmounted.

In the hands of the Romans, the art of attack that had until that time kept nearly upon a level with that of defence, and from time to time been inferior, at last obtained the preponderance. Julius Cæsar appears to have given it this superiority. His sieges of Marseilles and Alesia may still be studied with advantage, and have furnished hints of no small importance to modern generals, however different the materials with which their operations are conducted. The siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, exhibits the full development of all the means both of attack and defence. Its fortifications were constructed by

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Herod with all the accumulated skill of the age, and the means of assault exhausted all the knowledge of the Roman engineers.

The barbarous invaders of the Roman empire brought with them no information on the subject of fortification, or the methods of besieging: but long periods of tranquillity had permitted the ancient fortresses to fall to decay, and the science of the engineer had been forgotten along with the other branches of military knowledge, that had at earlier dates served to establish and confirm the power of Rome. Cities now fell either by the cowardice of their defenders, or the slow but sure means of famine; and although renegado engineers joined the conquering armies, they carried with them but little of the ancient learning. Fortification, therefore, for several centuries exercised a most important influence on the fate of the world, and may indeed be counted among the most efficient causes of the present aspect of Europe. Feudal chiefs, safe in their castellated mansions, bade defiance to their superior, and laid the foundation of European aristocracy, a class that still retains so much of influence, that it must be represented in most countries as a separate estate in any attempt at liberal government: which in the German empire has asserted an independence almost complete; and had, until recently, in England, almost engrossed the whole power of the state. The influence of fortification was still more beneficial in furnishing the inhabitants of cities and boroughs with a sure defence against the neighbouring barons, and even in enabling them to obtain chartered rights, as well as maintain them when acquired, against the encroachments of their sovereign. By these means the cities of Italy attained to absolute independence, while those of Spain and the low countries secured an influence that it required the possession of the treasures of the new world to overturn. In the secure retreat of walled towns, those principles of freedom were developed and matured, that we boast to have derived from our English ancestors; and even in a reformed parliament, the rule of burgher representation upon the footing of equality among communities of like privileges, however unequal in wealth and population, is retained in as full force as when De Montfort first called the delegates of the cities of England to aid the barons in resisting the despotism of the crown.

When in the increase of wealth and luxury, the baron and the burgher, both willingly gave to the crown a pecuniary equivalent for the military service they had before personally rendered, standing armies were substituted, at first in part, and finally altogether, in the place of the feudal array. The practice of war again became an art, and its first important result was the recovered superiority of the methods of attack. Castles now formed an inadequate protection to their lords, and walled cities no

longer furnished security for the rights of their inmates. Changes in every kingdom of Europe were the consequence, by which the relations of the several orders of the state were altered. These were not effected without desperate struggles, in which the powers acquired by the several estates were brought into collision, and which were attended with such different results, in different countries, according to the force each party brought to the field, and the manner in which the conflicting interests were allied by nature or by accident, that the uniform system of feudality which once prevailed over the whole of Europe, gave birth to as many distinct constitutions as there are separate nations.

The invention of gunpowder added at first to the means of defence. The besiegers were at once compelled to renounce all the species of works and machines they had before employed in approaching places, filling up their ditches, and forming breaches in their walls. Their moveable towers, their tortoises, the coverts of their battering-rams were destroyed at a distance by the new projectiles. But the trench was invented: the besieger, instead of forming elevated works, buried himself in the ground, and threw the excavated earth between him and the besieged. These trenches received and hid the artillery and the troops intended to protect it from sorties, or to mount to the assault of the breaches it made. The lofty towers that formed the strongest portion of the fortifications of the day, crumbled before the powers of the new artillery; the projecting battlements were destroyed with the greatest ease; and both these operations could be effected at distances so great, as to be unattended with danger to the besiegers. If artillery were employed in the defence, it acted to disadvantage from works not planned for its use, and was speedily silenced. The besieger could then approach with little risk, and with the novel engines, exert a power of destruction, before which, walls that might have defied the battering-ram for weeks, yielded in a few hours. More than all, the explosive force of gunpowder, when applied to military mines, tended to impair all confidence in the art of fortification.

These terrific means of attack had at first the effect of calling forth new energies and methods of defence. The walls, before uncovered, were sunk into deep ditches, by which their base was hidden from the fire of cannon; the loss of the battlement, and in consequence of any defence, of the foot of the walls, was compensated by flanking fires; terraces of earth were piled against the walls on which the artillery could circulate with ease, and be manœuvred with facility; the defenders were covered with earthen parapets impervious to, and indestructible by balls; and finally, by the preparation of countermines, the efforts of the besieger in subterranean war were rendered ineffectual.

Flanking defences were already provided in some cases, by the projection of the towers beyond the face of the walls. When these were of a circular form, every part of the work was seen, and could be defended from some other, except a portion of their own front. This portion was of course the weakest, and became the object of the attacks of the besieger. It was soon made apparent that by giving the towers the form of a pentagon, one side of which was in the line of the wall, and the others formed faces towards the enemy, this defect might be avoided. In this shape, and lowered to the general level of the rest of the works, towers gave rise to the bastion, the most marked feature of modern fortification. These bastions were gradually enlarged to afford room for their terraced ramparts, until they assumed the imposing aspect they present in the draughts of Pagan, Vauban, and Cohorn.

Bastioned fortification then consists in forming at each angle of a polygon, whether regular or irregular, a pentagon: one of whose sides is open to the interior of the place, and the other four enclosed by ramparts. The portions of the sides of the polygon that intervene between these bastions are also enclosed by ramparts, that are called *curtains*. The sides of the bastion adjacent to the curtains are styled its *flanks*; the remaining sides its *faces*; the open side its *gorge*; the direction of the faces is determined by drawing lines through the intersections of the flanks with the curtain and the extremities of the opposite flanks; these lines are called *lines of defence*, and the flanks in the best systems make with them an angle of 90° . By restricting the distance between the projecting or *flanked* angles of the bastions to 360 yards, no part was more distant from that intended to defend it, than fell within the range of the long match-locks of the day, and the weakest points at those angles were defended by a double fire from the flanks of the two nearest bastions.

The dry ditches were rendered inaccessible to the enemy by lining their outer bank with masonry, against which the soil, at its natural level, leaned as a terrace; this wall was called the *counterscarp*. It therefore became necessary, before an escalade could be effected, to descend by ladders into this ditch, and again mount by the same means over the wall or *scarp* of the fortress. In both these operations, the assailants were exposed without shelter to the fires of the defenders, and found in the ditch itself no place of refuge. An attack by main force was therefore impossible, and even a surprise was exposed to too many chances of failure. It hence became necessary, first to destroy the walls and parapets of the scarp, by means of batteries of cannon, and thus diminish the fire of the place; the counterscarp was next destroyed by advancing mines towards it, and a descent cut into the ditch. The first of these operations was not difficult, as one-

half of the scarp-wall was uncovered, and exposed to the fire of cannon, while the rubbish of the upper half would cover its base, and render an ascent easy. The second could only be impeded or delayed by sallies protected by the fires of the fortress. These were difficult, as the besieged were prevented from exit, by the very walls provided to keep out the enemy. It therefore occurred to engineers to raise a mound of earth on the outer side of the ditch, that would cover more of the masonry of the scarp, and to place it at such a distance from the ditch, as to leave a wide and convenient passage around the whole circuit of the fortress. This passage was called the *covered way*; the mound enclosing it, having a slow and gradual slope towards the exterior, was called the *glacis*. Its ridge was made about eight feet in height, in order to cover troops effectually, and was fitted for the use of musketry, by forming a step or *banquette* of earth at a proper height. As the glacis could be mounted without difficulty, and the covered way entered, if there were no other obstacle, the banquette was lined with pointed palisades; the covered way therefore became inaccessible until this obstacle was destroyed, and they were covered from any direct fires by the glacis.

As the outer edge of the ditch was drawn nearly parallel to the lines of defence, the covered way presented a figure similar to a star, the points or salients of which were acute, except in polygons of many sides, and the re-entering angles very obtuse. The branches of covered ways thus formed, would afford each other but a feeble and indirect defence; near each re-entering angle, therefore, the glacis was bent outwards at right angles, until the two new branches thus formed met in a new salient angle.

The triangular space thus added to the covered way, was called a *place of arms*; this name was also given to a space formed at the salient angles by rounding off the angle of the ditch. In the process of attack that we shall hereafter describe, the most projecting points of the covered way are most exposed to attack; to prevent the entrance of an enemy into these from involving the loss of the whole, traverses of earth were next made across the covered way, each of which afforded a new point of defence; and the re-entering place of arms was occupied by a work formed of an angular parapet of earth enclosed by palisades. Into these works, the stairs by which the defenders could pass into the covered way were made to enter; and they were, from their situation, the last points that an enemy could occupy.

The covered way thus constituted, became itself capable of powerful defence, doubling very nearly the duration of the last period of a siege; and its capture, before the improvements in attack were made, was attended with great loss to the assailants.

The entrance into fortresses was effected by means of a gate

placed in the middle of one of the curtains, and equidistant from the contiguous bastions. The ditch was passed by a bridge reaching the counterscarp at the re-entering place of arms. The road was cut thence through the parapet of its defensive work, and through the glacis into the open country. Although these passes were closed by wooden barriers, or gates formed of palisades, they were accessible to surprise, and a bold enemy often contrived to force them, reach and cross the bridge, and attain the gate of the fortress. A military engine called the *petard*, was contrived, of such powerful and steady action, by a proper application of gunpowder, that no fastenings of wood or iron could withstand it. Fortresses with the strongest garrisons were therefore not secure from sudden and unexpected attacks; and when the garrison was weak, the gates might be forced under cover of the night, even in the face of a prepared resistance. The danger arising from this cause, must therefore be met. For this purpose a guard house with loop holes, was established at the re-entering place of arms. Its defensive work was covered by a ditch, and the gate of this work became accessible only by a drawbridge. The capacity of this work was then enlarged, until its open side became equal in length to that of the curtain of the place; its ditch was deepened to a level with the bottom of the main ditch; the scarp and counterscarp were faced with masonry; finally in the two re-entering angles of its covered way, places of arms were established. The front containing the gate, thus from the weakest, became the strongest part of the fortification; a just view of this increase of strength led to the construction of similar works in front of each of the other curtains. Such works were called *half-moons* or *ravelins*.

It has been found by experience, that the projecting angles of fortresses, should in no case fall short of 60° ; in the case of the bastion, it is found that the larger the angle the greater are the powers of defence; but in the ravelin, the greater its projection outwards, the greater will be the defence it affords to the contiguous bastions, and the more surely will it compel an enemy to suspend his attack upon them, until he has taken possession of the ravelin itself. The capture of the ravelin on the other hand, is not a loss of vital consequence; an assault may be sustained in it without risk of losing the fortress itself, and it may be made the seat of a war of retrenchments, sustained by continual re-enforcements from within.

To all works thus circumstanced and detached from each other, the name of *outworks* is given; while the continued circuit of the bastions and curtains, is styled the *body of the place*.

The advantages given to the active defence by the ravelin, led to the planning of many other outworks, all included in the same covered way, and enclosed by ditches communicating with

each other, and of equal depth. Among these the most remarkable for form and extent, were those called horn and crown works. It is sufficient here to say, that none of them have been found to add to the defence in any proportion to the cost they create; and that in fact, except to cover the suburbs of cities that must otherwise be destroyed, they are now wholly abandoned. One form of outwork, however, has a right to be excepted from the general censure, this is the *counter-guard*. It is composed of a rampart parallel to, and covering the faces of bastions or ravelins; in the most recent forms of modern fortification it is retained in the latter position, and has assumed the old name of half-moon, while the work it covers is called by that of ravelin, (or sometimes *reduite*.)

The inventor of the bastion appears to be unknown; it was, however, introduced into France by Errard of Bois le Duc. In the hands of Pagan, fortresses assumed the form and characters we have here described, being composed of a bastioned circuit; ravelins in front of the curtains; a covered way with its glacis, having angular places of arms, divided into portions capable of successive defence by traverses, and enclosed by a palisade. The counterscarp presented the figure of a star, whose projecting angles were rounded off, and having twice as many points as the polygon had sides; the points of the stars were alternately of sixty degrees in front of the ravelins, and of an angle determined by the number and direction of the sides in front of the bastions. The crest of the glacis also had the form of a star; but the number of its angles was double that of the angles of the counterscarp; a place of arms being formed by two branches projecting at right angles, near each of the re-entering points.

The attack of these places was thus conducted: the besieging army encamped beyond the reach of the cannon of the place, and if there were fear of succour, enveloped it by a continuous entrenchment, defensible against attack from without; this is called the line of circumvallation. As so great an extent of works could not be manned, but must be defended by partial occupation, it became necessary to defend the detachments employed for this purpose, from any attempt of the garrison; this was done by a line facing inwards, called the line of contravallation. These two lines being established, a detachment was sent, usually by night, composed partly of armed troops and partly of workmen, to open the trenches. These, if possible, should be commenced from some hollow, sheltered from the artillery of the place, and if such a position present itself, the operation may be commenced by day. The trenches of sieges are excavations in the earth to the depth of about three or four feet, the earth proceeding from which is thrown towards the fortress; the earth is consolidated by being piled in bottomless baskets,

called *gabions*, and the parapet strengthened by long bundles of branches and twigs, called *fascines*. Such trenches are usually commenced during the night, and a partial covert being thus obtained are finished by day, another portion is laid out during the second night, and completed during the second day, and so on. On approaching within reach of the musketry of the place, the method by *sap* is substituted. In this, instead of each workman beginning and finishing the trench in front of him, several are employed who follow each other; the first, protecting his person by rolling a filled gabion before him, works upon his knees, and cuts out a small portion of the trench, the others follow and complete it.

The greatest care is taken to lay out the saps in such a manner that they cannot be seen into from the fortress; the prolongation of their directions therefore, passes a little without the most projecting part of the covered way; and in order to advance towards the place, their course is altered from time to time, so as to form a species of zigzag, whose angles grow gradually less and less obtuse. The trenches thus gradually advancing are styled *approaches*. As the whole space of the trench is required for the passage of materials, and for the action of the workmen, small branches were made at the angles in the same manner, and drawn parallel to the works of the place; in these armed men were posted, to serve as a guard against sallies.

In the ancient method of approaches, of which we are speaking, when they had advanced within about one hundred and fifty yards of the place, the construction of strong forts was commenced, by sap, and then carried on by workmen covered by it; in these, strong batteries of cannon were established. From them as soon as finished, a fire was commenced, in order to destroy the cannon of the fortress, and thus silence its fire. These batteries placed opposite to those of the place contended directly with them, and this to a disadvantage that could only be compensated by superiority in the number of cannon. In fact it rarely or never happened, that the artillery of the place could be completely silenced. As the covered way did not wholly hide the masonry of the ramparts, these batteries also did their part in destroying the upper part of the wall, by which the earthen parapets were left without support, and necessarily fell. From this distance the strongest walls may be destroyed, if they can be seen; but a practicable breach could not be effected, in consequence of the protection afforded by the elevation of the glacis. The besieged had also an opportunity to strengthen his parapets from within, and thus felt no bad effects from the fall of the upper part of the wall. Under the protection of the fire from these forts, the approaches were gradually pushed further forwards, until they reached the glacis. It thus became neces-

sary in order to take the covered way, to pass troops through the approaches in overwhelming numbers, who traversing as rapidly as possible the small remaining space, reached the palisades which they cut, and thus forced an entrance. This like all the other operations of which we have spoken, was necessarily performed in the face of a fire from the ramparts, that the besiegers could not wholly extinguish. The same was the case with the passage of the ditch, the erection of breach batteries in the covered way, and the entrance of miners into the scarp-wall. Even after the breach was effected, the powers of defence remained but little impaired; the flanking fires could be performed with but little danger; every advance made by the besieger was therefore bloody, and particularly that by which the covered way, and its successive defences by traverses was carried. A fortress was then in fact a well prepared field of battle, in which a small force could contend on equal terms with one much larger, and might even defeat it. Sieges therefore were often continued until famine effected what force could not, and others ended in the retreat of the attacking army. In this state of the art, it was received as an axiom, that a fortress, if not so invested as to prevent the admission of succours, might be defended for an unlimited time. Thus Ostend held out for three years and a quarter against the Spaniards, and surrendered at last by command of the states-general, who had gained so much in other directions by its obstinate resistance, as to render it unnecessary to expend more of either blood or treasure in retaining it. Candy was defended by the Venetians against the whole force of the Ottoman empire, then in the height of its power, for upwards of two years, and cost the besiegers more than an hundred thousand lives. Marseilles, Landrecies, and Metz, resisted successfully, the whole power of Charles V.; and Peronne, in its defence against his general the Count of Nassau, maintained its glorious title of *La Pucelle*. Finally, in 1676, Maestricht, occupied by the French and besieged by the Prince of Orange, was relieved by Marshal Schomberg, after it had been invested for six weeks, and before a lodgment had been made in any of the outworks, the breaches of which had been successfully defended against several assaults.

Up to this time then; the art of defence was superior to that of attack, and the besieged were supported in the most disadvantageous circumstances by that moral courage which the confidence of fighting at least upon equal terms inspires.

As a specimen of the sieges of this epoch, we shall cite that of Antwerp, by the Spaniards in 1584. This is remarkable for the labours and perseverance of both parties, and called into play all the military science of the age; it is also possessed of more interest at the present moment than any other we could adduce,

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in consequence of our having just witnessed an exhibition of a similar nature upon the same theatre.

The Prince of Parma made his appearance before Antwerp early in the year, at the head of a powerful army. His first efforts were directed against the forts of Lillo and Liewenhoeck, that command the navigation of the Scheldt. The latter was carried by assault, aided by a happy stratagem; but the former resisted a siege of six weeks, and caused a loss to the Spaniards of two thousand men; they were finally compelled to desist from the attack, and content themselves with blockading it in such a manner as to prevent its garrison from disturbing the operations against the city.

As the possession of Lillo left the passage of the river open, the Prince undertook to close it at another point. For this purpose he erected forts on each bank of the river, and mounted them with heavy artillery. No sooner were they finished than he undertook the construction of a bridge between them. As it was only by this that he could wholly prevent the introduction of succours, his success against the town was dependent upon his being able to effect this object. In order to transport the necessary materials, he caused a canal to be cut, of more than two leagues in length, and defended it by means of forts. The position for the bridge was chosen between the villages of Ordam and Calloo, where the river has less width than at any other point, and where the stream makes a sudden bend. The latter circumstance was favourable, inasmuch as vessels could not fall against it directly, and thus endeavour to break it by the force of the current. Stockades formed of strong timbers, were extended on each side into the stream, from Calloo to the distance of 1200 feet, from Ordam to that of 900 feet. The intervening space was 1250 feet, in which the water was too deep to admit of the construction of stockades. Upon each of the stockades was formed a place of arms, capable of containing a strong body of troops; these were covered by a parapet and defended by the forts; batteries of heavy guns were also established in them.

The space between the stockades was next closed by a bridge of boats; this was established upon thirty-two large vessels, each moored by two anchors, one from its stem the other from its stern. These were fastened to each other and to the stockades by strong chains. Each boat bore two cannon, and was manned by thirty soldiers and four sailors. The whole was covered by an external defence, composed of a raft formed of large trunks of trees. This was of sufficient height and thickness to serve as a rampart.

These works were impeded by the citizens of Antwerp, by all the means in their power. Armed vessels were continually employed to interrupt the labourers; but when these vessels

were restrained in their attacks, by redoubts erected by the Spaniards, the besieged had recourse to means of greater energy, and some of which were entirely novel.

They had in their service an Italian engineer, of the name of Giambelli, to him is due the first idea of the fireship, that has since been employed with such dreadful effect. On this occasion the ships were constructed of strong timbers, firmly fastened together, and contained within them a chamber on the principle of that of a military mine. This was formed of strong masonry of brick laid in mortar, in which no opening was left, except that for the passage of the train, by which the powder it contained was to be inflamed. The vessels were loaded with great blocks of stone, with bullets of various calibers, and every article of great weight that could be collected. The whole was stowed as compactly as possible, in order to increase the effect of the explosion. The construction of two large vessels of this description, occupied eight months. In addition, he planned and laboured at the construction of a vast floating battery. This was built upon a raft of timber, rendered more buoyant by empty casks. It had two decks, the lower mounted with heavy cannon, the upper manned with infantry. The construction and equipment of this large vessel occupied even more time than that of the fireships.

In the meantime the forces of the confederated provinces approached, in order to take advantage of the action of the fireships; a fleet was collected at Lillo, and Liewenhoeck was recaptured. The two great fireships, accompanied by a number of smaller ones, were towed into the stream and abandoned to the current. By some miscalculation the whole of the lesser vessels exploded at too early a period, and did no damage. One of the two great fireships grounded in front of a redoubt occupied by the Spaniards; this was totally destroyed by the explosion, with its whole garrison, and many soldiers who had been dispersed in the neighbourhood. The other alone completed its course; it struck the bridge where the stockades were united to the floating part. Its explosion was attended with the most destructive effects; five hundred Spaniards, with one of their most distinguished generals perished on the spot, and a far greater number were wounded. The bridge, however, was not wholly broken up; but had it been attacked at the moment, it must have been carried, such was the consternation that the explosion produced in the ranks of the besiegers. Whether from the failure of the other vessels, or from want of concert, neither the forces sent for the relief of the place, nor the citizens, made any effort until the works of the bridge were again repaired.

The great floating battery was next tried; but was unable to

silence the fire of the batteries, until it was so much cut up as to be no longer serviceable. It was withdrawn, repaired, and sent a second time to the attack with no better success. After this, according to some accounts, the confederated army attempted the relief of the place, by advancing along a dyke, in which attempt they were repulsed; the authority quoted by Carnot, ascribes the bloody action that took place on this dyke to an attempt of the citizens to break through the lines of the Spaniards. In either case it ended in the complete investiture of the city, and the cutting off all hopes of relief. Still, however, the citizens defended themselves gallantly, disputing foot by foot every tenable position in the neighbourhood; but overpowered by numbers, they were at last shut up within the walls. Such indeed was the resolution displayed by them, that the Prince of Parma does not appear to have ventured to resort to the means of attack then in use, but having shut them up within their walls, and provided against all possibility of relief, to have waited the slow but sure results of famine. To this the citizens were finally compelled to yield, after a gallant defence prolonged for more than a year.

The works of Antwerp were at this time no more than a simple bastioned rampart covered by a wet ditch. The Spaniards forthwith destroyed the southern part of this circuit, and replaced it by a citadel that still exists, and has been the object of the recent siege. This work was at first a regular pentagon with five small bastions.

During the wars of Louis XIV., large bastions, according to the system of Vauban, were erected in front of each of the old ones. The latter were raised and converted into cavaliers. Ravelins were erected in front of all the curtains, except that from whose ditch the ditch of the city was drawn.

More recently, on the two fronts that are not enclosed by the walls of the city, or rendered inaccessible by the river, works of the form of a half-moon, but lying without the covered way, have been constructed. Such works as we shall hereafter see are called *lunettes*. One of them goes by the name of Kiel, the other by that of St. Laurent. Each of these flanks one face of the other; but their other faces are only seen, the one from the works of the city, the other from the Tête de Flandres, on the opposite side of the Scheldt. Thus although when viewed in connexion with the rest of the fortifications, they are so imposing that the citadel would probably not be attacked, so long as the city itself is defended; they are left to their own powers of resistance if unsupported from these two points. In the recent siege, the Dutch held the Tête de Flandres, but the city was neutral. Hence the lunette of St. Laurent was easily accessible on one side; this caused it to be attacked in preference

to that of Kiel, and the breach was effected at a point that was not seen from any of the works occupied by the Dutch.

The citadel of Antwerp sustained a siege after the battle of Jemappes in 1793, as memorable from the rapidity with which it was compelled to surrender, as that of the city by the Spaniards was, from the energies developed on both sides. It then had the ravelins on the two fronts facing the country, but no advanced works. The inhabitants being disaffected to the Austrian cause, the governor was compelled to abandon the city, and shut himself up in the citadel. In order to save the property of the inhabitants from destruction, the French commander, the celebrated Miranda, undertook the siege from the exterior, as has been done in the recent instance; but although he thus abandoned many advantages, he succeeded in compelling the garrison to surrender in the short space of four days.

From the abridged relation we have cited, it will be seen that the inhabitants of Antwerp, animated by a spirit of determined resistance to the oppression of the Spaniards, were enabled to postpone the commencement of the besieger's attacks for upwards of a year; and he had at the time famine compelled them to surrender, made no more progress than it is now expected shall be done in nine days. The siege technically so called, had not commenced, and we are compelled to have recourse to another example of that operation, as conducted before the time of Vauban. We shall choose that of Hesdin. This town appears to have been fortified with a bastioned rampart, faced with masonry, a dry ditch, and a counterscarp of masonry, but to have wanted the more modern addition of a covered way, and to have been wholly without outworks.

The besieging army made its appearance in front of the town on the 20th May; the garrison, being very weak, set fire at once to the suburbs, and retired within the place. The trenches were opened on the 22d, and on the 25th Louis XIII. and the Cardinal de Richelieu set out from Paris to be present at the siege. The approaches were made against two of the bastions by the regiments of Champagne and Piedmont. The construction of these approaches became more and more dangerous, as they advanced more close to the counterscarp; and although no sallies were made in the face of so superior a force, nor the method of defensive mines resorted to, it was the 26th June before a passage could be effected across the ditch, and mines formed to make a breach in the two bastions. By this time, the powder of the besieged became scanty, so that their fire was less constant, in order to reserve their means for the defence of the breach. The mines being set on fire, formed four great breaches, one on each face of the attacked bastions, of more than one hundred feet in length, while the fire of cannon had opened a fifth in the curtain. The

place might therefore be considered as reduced to little more than a field-work; nevertheless the besieged entrenched himself in the breaches, stood and repulsed an assault. Having thus satisfied the conditions of honourable resistance, the garrison surrendered solely for want of ammunition, and not because they had any other reason to fear the event of a second attempt. On the capitulation but thirteen hundred men capable of bearing arms marched out of the city, and this small number had defied for five weeks the efforts of an army directed by the king of France and his great minister in person.

The fortifications of which we have as yet spoken, are of the kind erected in dry soils. Where water can be found at no great distance from the surface of the soil, or admitted from adjacent sources into the ditches, it may be used instead of a scarp-wall to render the ramparts of fortresses inaccessible. The ramparts no longer relying for support upon a wall, have a slope such as will admit the earth to sustain itself. They are therefore hardly susceptible of injury from cannon. The passage of the ditch must be effected by a floating raft, which is liable to be set on fire. On the other hand, the communications with the covered way and outworks are liable to interruption, and are at best difficult, as they can only be effected by boats or upon bridges. Thus if the besieger meet with more obstacles from the nature of the place, the besieged can oppose less resistance to his progress. Upon the whole, then, the advantages and disadvantages of wet ditches are pretty nearly equal, and the calculation of the duration of sieges, places them on the same footing. In point of expense, however, the advantage is greatly in favour of sites where the ditches can be filled with water; as much of the masonry that is absolutely necessary when the ditch is dry, may be spared. Such fortresses are, however, liable to one serious danger in cold climates. The moment the ditch freezes, they are reduced to a level with a common field-work, and may be carried by main force without the courtesy of a siege. Such was the case with the cities of Holland in 1794, to which an unusually hard winter rendered the access so easy, as to make them untenable. Other fortresses are upon such sites, that by a proper application of sluices, their ditches may be rendered dry or inundated at pleasure. These require the ramparts to be faced with masonry. They are of all the most capable of a long resistance, unless the besieger can seize or break up the sluices, and thus deprive the defence of the advantages they afford. In this case, they may become weaker than any other form, for the water may remain in the ditch to such a depth as to interrupt the communications of the besieged, yet not in such quantity as to oppose any great obstacle to the passage of the besieger across it.

We have hitherto spoken of no other species of artillery, as employed in the attack and defence of fortified places, than those whose fires are direct, or aimed at visible objects. Mortars whose projectile has a path of great curvature, and which descends almost vertically, are far more formidable in their effects, in consequence of their reaching objects, however securely sheltered in front. Their projectile too, is highly destructive, being a hollow sphere filled with powder, which bursts. In this way, it either scatters destructive splinters around, or penetrating into the ground, acts on its explosion like a military mine. It would therefore be the most powerful engine of attack, were its service as rapid and as certain as that of cannon. In spite of its slow service, it is capable of aiding materially in the destruction of the works of defence—compels a garrison to shelter itself in vaults; and speedily tears to pieces, or sets on fire all buildings that are not covered with thick arches. Even these will not resist for any great length of time a continual succession of bombs. At the epoch of which we have been speaking, mortars were but little employed in sieges; their fire was as yet too uncertain to cause much injury to the works of defence; and in their action on the buildings within, they were considered either as depriving the assailants of the very object of their attack, or as inflicting unnecessary cruelties upon those who took no part in the resistance. Even mortars for throwing stones, called *pierriers*, were but little employed, and usually merely in reply to those of the besieged, both parties being in fact willing to abstain from this species of annoyance, provided by so doing they could obtain a cessation from their adversary.

In this stage of the history of fortification, Vauban made his appearance, and effected his great change in the art of attack; by this it attained at once the superiority it has ever since manifested. His first great improvement lay in the invention of *parallels*. This method consists in adding to the zigzag approaches, trenches drawn parallel to a curve passing through the flanked angle of the bastions. These trenches are extended so far as to envelope and cross the prolongations of the faces of all the works that are either to be attacked, or are capable of affording defence to those intended to be carried. The first of these parallels is drawn about six hundred yards from the covered way; at this distance musketry is of little or no effect; and the angle the parapet of the trench subtends, is so small as to furnish no certain mark to cannon. The third parallel is drawn through the salient angles of the glacis. The second is intermediate between them. The first parallel, if no natural cover exist, is connected with ground beyond the reach of cannon shot,

by trenches; from this parallel approaches are pushed forward to the position chosen for the second parallel; and after it is completed, the approaches are carried on to the glacis. A line of approach is carried along each of the lines bisecting the salient angles produced outwards; these lines are called the *capitals* of the several works they are drawn from. The parallels serve as lodgments for the guard of the trenches, who are in them secure from the direct fires of the place, and may be formed of such strong detachments as will effectually prevent any hope of making successful sallies. The third parallel being established at the foot of the glacis, will contain so large a body of troops safely lodged within striking distance, that the assault of its palisade, although bloody, may be considered as certain of success. Vauban, however, was anxious to spare the waste of life such an assault would occasion; he, therefore, after carrying his sap forward to the top of the glacis at the salient angles, formed there another trench or lodgment. This runs parallel to the covered way, at a distance no greater than is sufficient for forming a parapet. Elevated on the summit of the glacis, this trench has already a command over the covered way; but not content with this, he gave it an increased elevation, by raising its parapet, and forming steps to rise within it, so as to fire over it. The troops thus placed, look down into the covered way and enfilade its branches.

These raised works are called the *cavaliers* of the trench, and when once completed, the covered way ceases to be tenable by the besieged, who is consequently compelled to abandon it without resistance. Still, however, the operations were exposed to the artillery of the fortress, which a direct fire cannot wholly silence; and to musketry which could only be lessened by the destruction of the defenders. Even without any further addition to the means of attack, than those we have already described, they at once assumed such a superiority, that the important fortress of Maestricht was reduced by Vauban, within ten days from the opening of the trenches, although three years later it held out, as we have seen, against an enemy unprovided with the same method, until it was relieved.

Vauban's chief glory rests upon the second part of his improvement, the invention of ricochet batteries. The fact, that a ball, falling at a small angle upon water, will rebound several times before it finally sinks, had been long known. A similar effect was observed to take place when it strikes in a similar manner upon firm earth, such as forms the surface of the ramparts of fortresses. His genius seized upon the value of this property, in its application to the attack of places. Instead of pushing forwards his approaches under the fire of the fortress, to a distance at which the direct fire of cannon might contend with

advantage against those of the place, he commenced the construction of his first batteries at a small distance in front, or even in the first parallel. The places chosen for these batteries were the points at which the prolongation of the forces of the works to be assailed or silenced cut that parallel. On each side of these points the first batteries were constructed. The guns of these batteries being so placed as to have their axes elevated 4° or 5° , were loaded with ball and small charges of powder. The range produced by the charges was carefully examined, and the charge of powder lessened, until the balls, after passing their highest elevation, again sunk in such manner as just to raze the crest of the opposing parapet. They of course soon strike at a small angle upon the earth of the rampart; this is of such firmness, until it has been ploughed by repeated firing, as to cause them to rebound, and they thence, by successive flights, pass along the face in whose prolongation the batteries are erected, until their force is expended, or they lodge in an obstacle. Balls fired in this manner therefore enter into the fortification over the parapet without impediment, and in their course take in flank the cannon and defenders who are placed along the faces of the works, destroying the former and killing or wounding the latter; those balls which are fired along the faces of the bastions, take the defences of the flanks in reverse, and overwhelm them also; those which follow the direction of the faces of the half-moon, terminate their course in the wall of the curtain, which they injure and deface. The direction of the covered way being but little inclined to the faces of the bastion, and parallel to those of the half-moon, guns placed in the same batteries, and fired with less charges of powder, will sweep along it also, crushing any means of active defence it may contain, and wholly destroying its palisades. It thus happens, that within a few hours after the ricochet batteries open their fire, the covered way becomes untenable, except at its places of arms, the guns raised to fire over the parapets are dismounted, the defenders dare no longer show their faces to maintain a fire of musketry; even if embrasures be opened for the cannon, and they are thus sunk several feet lower than before, they are still finally destroyed; while the passage of guns and troops along the ramparts becomes so dangerous that it can hardly be attempted without serious loss.

After the second parallel is completed, batteries may be constructed in or in front of it, to which the guns of the batteries of the first parallel may be removed. From this position, three hundred yards nearer the fortress, the fire is more true, and can be performed with less charges of powder. From this distance also howitzers become efficient, and may be added to the batteries. These are sure to destroy the palisade of the covered way, which cannon balls will not always completely effect.

These dreadful batteries were first employed by Vauban, at the siege of Philipsburgh, in 1688. Here, however, such were the difficulties he had to overcome from the prejudices of his superiors, and the dread of innovation on the part of his inferiors, that he was unable to demonstrate in a satisfactory manner the whole value of the method. It was not until 1696, when serving under the orders of Catinat, who took a pride in calling himself the pupil of Vauban in the art of sieges, that he met with such support from his commander as enabled him to enforce upon the officers of the artillery the strict observance of his principles. We shall extract an account of this celebrated siege.

“Vauban conducted the siege of Ath. This place was the work of his own youth. The rivers Dender and Lense covered several of its fronts with inundations, and formed reservoirs, by the aid of which the besieged could direct artificial torrents into the ditches of the place, and even against the bridges of the line of countervallation. The besieged had not made themselves acquainted with the properties of the sluices, and had neglected to form the inundation of the Lense; but that of the Dender afforded a more copious magazine of water than the manœuvres of the sluices demanded. Vauban ascertained that the sluice which formed this inundation was badly defended, and that it might be crushed by shells of large caliber. In consequence, he rested the left of his attacks upon the Dender, making of that river a barrier against the sallies of the garrison, and at this point he placed his battery of mortars. But the inundation prevented the parallels from being sufficiently extended to the left, and permitted the enemy, by means of a line of counter-approach, to see into the trenches. Mesgrigny was directed to conduct a false attack to the left of the inundation, to continue there, and thus, as it were, complete the principal attack. The parallels thus embraced the front of attack and the two collateral fronts. Vauban placed no artillery in his first parallel, being convinced that distinct batteries do less to annoy the enemy than to accustom him to their efforts, and that a steady and silent approach is more imposing than a vain noise. He applied to the attack the custom of the Romans, of coming silently to a charge upon enemies who fought only with frightful cries, and the maxim of Catinat, to receive without firing the first discharge of the enemy. The second parallel received the batteries of cannon and mortars. The cannon fired only with the ricochet. Vauban at last submitted to a steady and regular experiment, this method of firing, first imagined at the siege of Philipsburgh, and from that time employed in all sieges; but with various success, with absolute contempt, with suppressed murmurs, and as is now difficult to believe, with a sort of repugnance to employ artillery in a slow and unostentatious manner, by which its effects were produced almost without noise.

“The fire of the place becoming on a sudden rare, uncertain, and interrupted, announced that the batteries of the ramparts were ruined, and the defenders dispersed. The mortars completed the expulsion of the enemy from the ramparts. The buildings of the city were not fired at; Catinat agreeing in principle with Vauban, preserved the city from useless injury; the inhabitants were neutral, and no more than a single barrack, upon the front of attack, was set on fire. The besieged appeared discouraged, and Vauban considered it unnecessary to form a third parallel. The trenches were pushed along the summits of the glacis, and the trench-cavaliers completed the expulsion of the few defenders that the ricochet had left in the covered way. Now was the time for the besieged to reanimate their fire, and attempt sorties; the batteries of the besiegers were reduced to silence, for fear of injuring their own posts upon the glacis. But no sortie was made; a feeble fire announced men terrified and without vigour. Vauban caused the salient angles of the covered way to be seized by means of the flying-sap; the covered way was occupied, and the miners began the descent

of the ditch. However, the inundation still existed, and preparations were to be made to encounter the play of the water; at this moment a shell of five hundred pounds weight fell on the head of the sluice and destroyed it wholly. A part of the waters rushed into the city, inundated the cellars, rose to the height of four feet in the great square and in the principal streets, and found in one of the dams a breach made by the stray fires of the ricochet. This breach it enlarged, and rejoined on the lower side of the fortress the waters that had traversed the city. This torrent rolled into the bed of the Dender, carrying with it beams and masses of carpentry, that threatened to destroy the communications of the besieger, but Catinat and Vauban were upon the spot. Directed and encouraged by their presence, the soldiers threw themselves into the current and saved the bridges. In five hours the whole of the water had run off, and no other interruption to the communications remained, except the usual stream of the Dender. This the besiegers, however, contrived to turn into the ditches of the place. The half-moon and the body of the place were breached by cannon, and the miners rendered the breaches practicable. The half-moon was taken; its permanent retrenchment of masonry was enveloped by trenches, and the bridge by which it communicated with the place destroyed by the artillery. The besieged retired from it. The communications between the body of the place and the collateral half-moons were also destroyed by the batteries. Ricochet fires and shells had long desolated these works, their parapets and the flanks of the bastions being now counter-battered, no longer directed any but rare and almost innoxious shot upon the ditch. The passage of the ditch was made without resistance, by means of beds of fascines loaded with sand-bags; a few tressels left a free course for the stream of the Dender between this causeway and the breach. This passage was covered by epaulments, to protect the troops against the few works that were still able to maintain a fire. All was ready for the assault, and Catinat and Vauban proceeded to reconnoitre the breach. They were at its foot when a major of the besieged troops came to offer to capitulate, 'while,' says the journal of the siege, 'a terrified drummer beat the *chamade tout bas*, in the centre of the bastion, and far from the parapet, where no person could any longer remain.' No siege ever cost less; the disbursements of the artillery were no more than forty thousand dollars; and the cost of the works not quite fifty thousand dollars, although the sappers and miners received extra pay, increasing with the danger. No more than fifty soldiers of the besieging army were killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded; a single engineer was killed, and seven wounded; among the wounded was Vauban himself, but not dangerously.

"This siege was the triumph of Vauban. It might have almost been said, that the object was not the attack of a place, but an exhibition of a mock attack, for the purpose of giving a great example to engineers, and to submit to a solemn experiment, his new art of sieges."—*Allent. Histoire du Corps de Genie.*

In this siege the consternation of the besieged was hardly less intense than that with which savage nations first witness the effect of artillery; and for some years the sieges conducted by Vauban and his pupils ended in a capture of the place by a destruction of its means of active defence, often without the necessity of forming breaches. When the consternation had in some measure subsided, various measures of partial resistance to the effects of these batteries were contrived; the faces were divided by traverses, the flanks covered from reverse fires by paradoses; the artillery was removed from its station the moment these batteries opened their fire, in order to be reserved for a subsequent period, and no other was used against this stage of the attack than a few field-pieces, brought suddenly forward from time to time, and as suddenly withdrawn. With all the improvements

which have yet been made, these ricochet batteries have given the attack an immeasurable superiority over the defence; even the traverses and paradoses have no important value, when howitzers and bombs fired at small angles are joined to cannon in this part of the progress of the attack.

The establishment of the trench-cavaliers, which occupy the summit of the glacis, leads to a new state of things. These works lying directly between the batteries of the first or second parallel and the fortress, mask the fires of the former, and render them too dangerous to the besieger's own troops, to be persisted in. The besieged, however, cannot show himself in the covered way, in consequence of the enfilading fire of the trench-cavaliers; but if he have prudently withdrawn and sheltered his artillery, he may again bring it forward, and will for some hours have it in his power to injure his adversary and retard the progress of the attack. This intermission, however, will only continue until a lodgment has been effected by sap in the covered way, the troops and workmen of the besieger will be again below the level of the ricochet fires, and the batteries of the first or second parallel may be again opened with as great effect as before. This interval, however, is the critical period of the siege; if the resistance is to be successful, it is only during the short epoch of the silence of these batteries that it can be made so. As yet, however, we have no instances of the sort; the advances of the besieger, if necessarily slower and more dangerous at this time, are not less sure; the covered way is reached and occupied; the batteries of the first parallel are again opened, and under their protection, batteries are constructed in the covered way itself, that first destroy by counter-battering any defence the besieger may still venture to keep up, either on the portions of the faces of the bastions which defend the flanks and ditches of the half-moon, or on the flanks of the bastions themselves, for the purpose of protecting the faces and ditches of those that are contiguous. The guns are then shifted and applied to form breaches in the walls of these works, at their salient angles.

For the mere purpose of shaking walls by concussion, the battering-ram of the ancients was not inferior to the cannon ball; what the former wanted in velocity, was made up by its increased weight. But a mode of employing the modern engine has been invented, by which it is rendered far superior to the ancient. If the mere shock be proportioned to the velocity and mass simply, the depth to which projectiles penetrate into a given substance, is proportioned to the squares of the velocity. The ram, in consequence, hardly broke the smallest splinters from walls which it shook for long distances, while the cannon ball penetrates to considerable depth. The guns of the batteries in breach

are therefore first directed to the lowest horizontal line that can be seen from them, and a long groove is thus cut in the wall; they are next pointed so as to make two vertical grooves at the extremities of the former, thus cutting a rectangle out of the surface of the wall. In this operation they are fired separately, and at no regular intervals; but when the grooves have been cut to a proper depth, the cannon are directed against the part these grooves enclose, and fired in volleys so as to produce the greatest possible shock. This, added to the pressure the wall sustains from the terrace it supports, speedily causes it to fall into the ditch, and the fragments of the wall, covered by the fallen earth, afford an ascent of no great difficulty, by which the fortress may be entered. Breaches are, however, now more frequently effected by means of mines. An opening having been cut in the face of the wall by the fire of cannon, of sufficient size to hide a man, a miner is sent across the ditch, and enters it. He here works until he has pierced the wall, he then forms a gallery along the interior of the wall, to the right and left of his adit, and on this gallery forms and loads as many mines as may appear necessary to overturn the scarp. Against this fatal operation a terraced wall appears to afford no remedy. The miner can neither be heard nor reached from within.

The passage of the ditch is still effected as before, and covered by parapets against any flanking fires that may remain; but it can hardly be considered as any longer dangerous, if a proper use have been made of the ricochet. The besieged will of course, endeavour to defend himself by retrenchments made in the breach or behind it, by palisades, and every obstacle he can oppose, but these are formed under such disadvantages, and the moral character of the troops is so far destroyed by the feeling of conscious inferiority, that the repulse of the assault of a breach is now an occurrence as rare as its success was before the days of Vauban. It therefore generally happens, that so soon as a breach is effected in the body of the place, and is practicable, the besieged endeavours to obtain the most favourable capitulation the besieger will allow him.

From these causes it has now become an axiom in military science, that provided an army can force its adversary to confine himself to a fortress, he must finally succeed in capturing him in a space of time which is reducible to mathematical precision. Bodies of troops forced by an enemy into a fortified place, have even in some instances been reduced by a force inferior to themselves in number; and this is more likely to happen the more the art of defence has accumulated obstacles around it, for these not only oppose themselves to an attack by main force, but render the exit of the beleaguered army impracticable.

The estimate of Vauban for the duration of a siege is as follows:—

	Days.
From the opening of the trenches until preparations can be made for the attack of the covered way, -	9
Attack and capture of the covered way, of its places of arms, and traverses, - - - - -	4
Descent and passage of the ditch of the half-moon, -	3
Formation of a practicable breach in the half-moon, -	4
Capture of, and establishment of lodgment in the half-moon, - - - - -	3
Passage of the ditches of the bastions, -	4
Formation of a practicable breach in the bastions, -	4
	<hr/> 31

To this is to be added in some cases—

For the investment, the formation of lines of circumvallation, and the collection of materials, - - -	9
For faults on the part of the besieger, and acts of energy on the part of the defence, - - - - -	4
For the defence of the breach of the bastions, -	2
	<hr/> 15
	31
	<hr/> 46

It may on the other hand, happen in the older fortifications, particularly in polygons of few sides, that the bastions may be attacked at the same time as the half-moon; this would lessen the duration of the defence as much as six days. But if the latter work be of large size, it must be carried before the bastions can be approached, and if it have a ravelin within, the latter may hold out six days in addition. Horn and crown works in some cases, add nothing to the duration of the defence, nor in any, more than five or six days. Counter-guards in front of the bastions will, when the half-moon is of large size, also add five or six days to the probable duration of a siege.

Such is the calculation of Vauban for the minimum defence a well fortified place ought to be able to make. It in fact rests upon the hypothesis, that the besieger shall apply no more strength to it on the one hand, than he can do without exposing his men lavishly, to the fires of the place, but shall meet with no interruption to the progress of the works; and upon the other, that the besieged shall confine himself to a resistance by the mere fire of artillery and musketry. Such, however, is the confidence with which besiegers are now inspired, that the mini-

imum of Vauban is converted into the maximum, and in the more modern fictitious journals of sieges, no more than twenty-five days are allowed for what by Vauban's calculation should occupy thirty-one. To reduce these estimates to more obvious terms, fourteen days are necessarily occupied in advancing to and taking the covered way, six more for each successive work that must be separately carried. Any work then not susceptible of being taken by main force may resist for twenty days, while none, except it have advanced works, can be depended upon for a resistance of more than forty-one after the trenches are opened. It may at first sight appear that such an estimate which leaves out of view the bravery, industry, and skill that can be exerted in the defence, should be necessarily erroneous; but it so happens that fortresses rarely resist beyond the prescribed time, and to do even this is considered as praiseworthy.

As soon then as these calculations became universally received, the duration of sieges fell even below the limits they assign. The besiegers secure of success, pressed on with confidence, while the besieged, aware of the hopelessness of their position, lost all spirit and abandoned themselves to despair. Fortifications for a time ceased to have any great influence on the event of campaigns, and it even began to be questioned whether they were of any utility whatsoever. Under impressions of this sort, the emperor Joseph II., dismantled a great part of the fortresses of the Netherlands, leaving the cities they had formerly enclosed open. The first campaigns of the French revolution, however, shewed that if of less importance than they had at one time been considered, when an invading army never ventured to leave a fortress in its rear; they were still capable of fulfilling a most valuable purpose in the defence of states, while the want of them deprived countries of all means of resistance, after their armies had sustained a single reverse. The numerous but ill organized armies that the French raised for the defence of their country, in the first years of the revolutionary war, found secure encampments, in which they were prepared for resuming offensive operations, under the guns of the triple barrier of fortresses, with which the Belgian frontier of that country is enclosed. Thus the invading armies had not merely fortresses to leave behind them, but strong corps of troops ready to act offensively, and did not dare to advance in spite of their early successes, while no sooner had the French arms become victorious than the whole of the Netherlands fell almost without resistance; for the defeated armies found no place of refuge and were compelled at once to abandon the country, which came in a few months into the possession of the invaders. So also Holland, although filled with fortresses, was overrun in a few weeks, partly from the facilities afforded by the ice, but more because

no pains had been taken to provide them with the necessary provisions and ammunition.

The obvious inferiority of the power of defence of fortresses to that of attack, has led to various plans for restoring the equilibrium. Vauban himself, who in the early part of his life had bent the powers of his mind to the improvement of the art of attack, undertook on the decline of the fortunes of Louis XIV., when the French frontiers were invaded, to remedy in some degree the weakness of which he was himself the cause. In the fortresses of Landau and New Brisack, he brought into use his system of bastioned towers. The body of the place, instead of the large bastions of Pagan, and of his own earlier system, was flanked by smaller ones, wholly formed of masonry. In front of each of these and separated by a ditch, was formed a large bastion or counter-guard; the outworks were a ravelin and covering half-moon. The towers had vaulted chambers or *casemates*, whence two embrasures were cut upon each flank. Succeeding engineers have too hastily condemned this system, from the objection they have made to casemated artillery. This they allege would be of no value, in consequence of the smoke with which the vaults would be speedily loaded. Experiments, however, have at last been resorted to, in order to test the question, and the defect has been found not to exist. These towers are weak in consequence of their being seen from without, so that their prolongations may be seized and all means of defence destroyed, by the ruin of their parapets of masonry by ricochet fires, long before they can be called upon to act in the defence. This system then has no other advantage than that of providing a permanent retrenchment of a strong and efficient character, by which the duration of the siege can certainly be prolonged for six days.

Of all the engineers who have attempted to add to the strength of fortresses, Cormontagne has, among the officers of that corps, acquired the highest reputation. He has obtained this not merely by the actual merit of his plans, but by the caution with which they were brought forward. He either through modesty or prudence, made no pretensions to found a new system, but proposed his methods as slight modifications of the old. In the mere ground plan of his works, little variation can be detected from the first method of Vauban, except the increased size of his half-moon, by which a strong ravelin could be formed within it, instead of a mere retrenchment; by this, the possibility of attacking the bastions at the same time as that work was prevented. In his profiles, the change was greater, for he proposed the suppression of the upper part of the masonry of the scarp, and made his parapets wholly of earth. By this he left no part of his stone-work visible from the earlier works of besiegers; but on the

other hand, his works became less secure from attack by esca-lade. His method is, however, that which is now held as classical by the French school of engineering.

With these improvements of Vauban and Cormontagne, various other trifling additions were made to fortification. Thus communications were made in dry ditches called *caponnieres*. These are in the form of a covered way, at the level of the bottom of the ditch, defended by a glacis and palisaded. A double caponniere led from the body of the place to the ravelin, and single caponnières were carried across the ditches of the half-moon and ravelin, in the direction of the counterscarp of the ditch of the body of the place. By these the entrance to the latter was prevented; the double caponniere aided the flanks in the defence of the projecting angles of the bastion; while the single one gave the same aid to the angles of the half-moon and ravelin.

Another work was introduced by Vauban, which, however unimportant in appearance, changed the whole character of the bastioned system. This had for its primitive object, to leave no part of the base of the walls unseen from some other portion of the work. But in all Vauban's systems, and in most of those which have succeeded, the ground enclosed by the lines of defence, the flanks of the bastion, and the curtain, was left of its original height, with the exception of a narrow ditch, and fortified in front by a parapet. This was called the *tenail*; it has in some cases bastioned, in others rounded flanks, but more often has the obtuse angular form, at which the lines of defence cross each other. By this work, many parts of the ditch are hidden from the ramparts; but its advantages in providing a covert for troops intended to act in sallies, is so great, that it is very generally employed.

As the greatest advocates of the bastioned system gave up by the use of this work all the arguments on which its original value was said to depend; there were not wanting bold innovators who proposed to abandon its principles altogether. The most courageous of these was Montalembert. He was the author of a great variety of systems; among these, the most famous was that called *perpendicular*. The ground plan of this was not wholly original. It had before been observed, that the circuit of the covered way presented the form of a star, whose branches are at right angles to each other. In the perpendicular system it was proposed to give the rampart a similar form, and make the projections of the angles all equal. A general objection may be cited against this, namely, that all the salient angles are equally accessible, and that the successful attack of any one of them, involves the loss of the place; the ricochet batteries, therefore, need only enfilade four faces, while in the bastioned

system with ravelins, at least eight must be silenced by that species of fire. Montalembert's system of defence was made to depend upon the use of a prodigious quantity of artillery, sheltered in casemates. By these he hoped wholly to prevent the formation of the batteries of the first parallel; similar fires were provided to defend the ditches. In his views he was however mistaken, for by raising his casemates of masonry so far as to see the enemy, he brought back the fault of the old fortification, and that which led to the most important change of Cormontagne in the method of Vauban, while the works of the besieger are too low to offer a sure object to the cannon. The quantity of cannon required in this method, would be prodigious, and consume ammunition to such a degree, that it would be impossible to furnish it to fortresses. According to the estimate of engineers, all of his systems are even weaker than the old; but many of his views are sound, and have been adopted with proper modifications in many new fortresses.

Of all who have written upon this subject, Carnot appears to have appreciated most clearly the causes of the weakness of modern fortification, as contrasted with the increased means of the attack. These inherent causes of weakness as stated by him, are the following:

1. Fortresses have no shelter upon their ramparts either for the artillery or troops.

2. They have no permanent retrenchments, and any defence against the assault of a breach in the body of the place, must be constructed to great disadvantage during the siege.

3. The communications between the place and outworks are difficult and dangerous.

4. The covered ways of Vauban's systems are not capable of obstinate defence, but become untenable the moment the besieger has established his trench-cavaliers. This is in part remedied in the method of Cormontagne, by a strong intrenchment in the re-entering place of arms. At the last siege of Dantzic, in 1804, a wooden block-house was placed in the salient place of arms, and extended the duration of the siege seven days beyond the usual calculation.

5. The half-moons of Vauban do not cover the flanks of the bastions, nor the ditch between them and the tenail; the former may therefore be ruined, and a breach made in the curtain at an early period of the siege. Cormontagne, by suppressing the flanks of the half-moon and increasing its dimensions, has obviated this defect.

6. The masonry of the body of the place, is not usually sufficiently covered, and may be destroyed from a great distance. This has also been remedied by Cormontagne; but as we have already stated, his works are rendered more liable to escalade.

7. There is no fire of any kind in the direction of the capitals, on which the approaches of the besiegers are carried on, except that of a single cannon at each angle, which is rendered unserviceable by the earliest fires from the batteries of the first parallel. Cormontagne has provided fires of musketry or even of light cannon, in the directions of the capitals, but these are insufficient to have any important influence.

8. The fall of the wall, when a breach is made in it, carries with it the terrace that rests upon it, thus making an easy ascent and wholly opening the surface of the rampart.

9. The masonry being built with a slope on its outer side, and pressed behind by damp earth, is speedily injured; for this reason, ancient works, instead of growing stronger with the lapse of years, as masonry in ordinary situations does, become little better than walls laid without any cement whatever.

10. Vaulted buildings, for the protection both of the stores and troops, with the exception of the powder magazines, form no part of either of the systems.

11. To put the place in a state of defence, an immense quantity of timber is needed, for the construction of palisades, of temporary bomb-proofs, and other shelters. This it is often impossible to procure, and is in all cases expensive.

12. In addition to the duties that are purely military, the besieged are compelled to engage in excessive labours, which leave them no time for repose.

In spite of the apparent improvements of Cormontagne, Carnot comes to the conclusion that his system is not better than that of Vauban, with bastioned towers, and is more expensive. This opinion is confirmed by some of Cormontagne's own disciples. Thus we find that to Vauban we owe not merely the great improvement of the art of attack, but the best systems of fortification that have yet been actually constructed.

Impressed with the defects which he has thus made more obvious than engineers are usually willing to admit, Carnot turned his attention to remedy them. The relative advantages and defects of his systems, have not yet been reduced to the test of an actual trial; for if, as we believe, some of the new fortresses on the French frontier of Belgium, have been constructed on his principles, none have yet undergone the ordeal of a siege. In his opinion, all fortresses ought to be composed of three essential parts: the body of the place, prominent in importance, and to which the other two are accessories: a permanent general retrenchment, affording a refuge in case of breach; and an envelope of earth by which the whole body of the place may be sheltered from any direct fires. In order to allow of frequent sorties, he suppresses the counterscarp altogether, so that his envelope may be traversed by infantry in every direction. This

envelope takes the place of the covered way in the usual systems, but instead of being at the natural level of the ground and covered by a glacis, he raises it to the elevation of a rampart, and separates it from the country by a species of ditch rising with an easy slope, to the original surface of the ground. This slope he styles *glacis en contrepente*.

Upon these general principles he has planned three different methods; one whose ground plan is that of the bastioned circuit intended for level and dry countries; the other two are of the character styled perpendicular, and are adapted, the one to hilly positions, the other to situations where water is found at small depths.

In them all, he builds his masonry vertically, and carefully separates his earthen ramparts from the walls that defend them from escalade.

Such walls will of course grow more firm with every advance in age, being neither liable to the crush of the terraces, nor the effects of the weather. The whole of the masonry, although in some cases as high above the bottom of the ditches as the bastioned towers of Vauban, is completely sheltered from any direct fires. All these are no doubt important advantages, and he in addition maintains that his envelope needs no palisades.

In point of defence, his calculation is, that this method of fortification will hold out if attacked and defended upon the ordinary principles, (by which the besieger is supposed to advance as fast as the labour of the trenches can be performed,) as long as Vauban's method with bastioned towers. He, however, rests the merit of his plan upon its application to a system of defence, already practised in part by judicious governors of places; but the principles of which he is the first to lay down and develope in words.

His defence would in the first part of the siege, differ in no degree from that usually practised; long cannon should in consequence be employed to prevent the besieger from advancing in the construction of his trenches, except with the greatest caution; small sorties should be made to disturb the work, and if possible render ineffectual the labour of each night. Both of these obstacles are, however, of little avail, and the last carries the besieged to such a distance from the fortress as to expose him to great danger. This danger is however less than when the covered way is palisaded, and the ditches have counterscarps; for the parties that have sallied out meet with no impediment in their retreat to positions whither the besiegers dare not follow them. The batteries of the first parallel may also be counter-battered and bombarded, until they are ready to open their fire. He then illustrates the advantage of ricochet firing along the capitals that direct the approaches of the besiegers.

As soon, however, as the besieger has prepared his batteries of the first parallel, he advises that the whole of the artillery be at once withdrawn from the ramparts, and sheltered until it can be again brought forward with safety, and that the troops be kept under cover, except at the instant when they are needed for sallies. In place of the direct fire of cannon, he now brings into use the fire of mortars, and the ricochet from pieces sheltered wholly from these batteries. The fortification provides coverts for all these purposes, whence the fires can be executed without danger. As the besieger approaches nearer, pierriers are to be substituted for mortars. These have but a short range, consume but small quantities of powder, and their projectiles are furnished in abundance by the pavements of streets, and the very ruins made by the besieger's fire. In the opinion of Carnot, the real energy of the defence can only be displayed at the instant when modern sieges are considered as at an end. The besieger having established himself at last upon the envelope that it is proposed to substitute for the covered way, the fire of all his works in the rear is silenced, from the fear of killing his own men. The cannon that have been withdrawn are now to be again brought forward; the defenders can show themselves on the ramparts almost without danger; sallies are to be made in force, and these are now of the utmost advantage, for the besieger is placed in the very position in which the besieged formerly was; his troops can be taken in flank, and he is not defended from attack by a high counterscarp, which in the usual systems of fortification renders his position upon the glacis and in the covered way unapproachable. At least thirty-six hours are allowed in the estimate of the duration of a siege, in which the besieger thus lies at the mercy of the defenders, except so far as he can protect himself by courage and superior numbers. The former can avail little against attacks in flank, and the fire of the whole artillery carefully husbanded for the purpose; while the accumulation of the latter, if it check attack by main force, enhances the loss which the fire of the artillery must produce. Should the besieger succeed in overcoming all these difficulties, finish his batteries, form a breach in the scarp of the bastions, and complete his passage of the ditch, the earthen rampart of the bastion remains unhurt, and the besieged may confidently await an assault, with the security of a safe retreat in the permanent retrenchment; and this assault, if it be successful in reaching the interior of the bastion, is at once exposed to a triple battery of cannon pierriers and musketry, all covered and protected from the fire of the besieger. These obstacles, in the opinion of Carnot, are insurmountable; the breach must be abandoned; the besieged may again establish himself upon the bastion, and await a new assault, that must be attended with the same consequences as before.

It is, however, hardly to be believed, in the face of the continued success which has attended sieges since the days of Vauban, that the method of Carnot is sufficient to restore the method of defence to an equality with that of attack, nor are military men, at all agreed in opinion upon the superiority of Carnot's systems over those of Vauban and Cormontagne. It is said that in some of the barrier fortresses of Belgium, in the restoration of the fortifications of Charleroi for instance, his plans have been adopted.

The most perfect fortresses of the day, if Carnot's be not such, are to be found in our own country. General Bernard, who planned the additions to the fortifications of the city and citadel of Antwerp, served for several years as chief of the board of engineers intrusted with the planning of works for the defence of our coast. In this object he had the aid of engineers who yield in no respect to the most skilful of Europe, and many of the works planned by this board, have either been constructed or are in the course of execution. One of these, intended for the defence of a southern harbour, struck us on inspection, as extremely beautiful, and well adapted to make an obstinate defence. It is a regular pentagon, of small dimensions. It retains the counterscarp wall, and has a covered way, protected by a glacis of the usual construction; the ditches are defended by casemated fires in the flanks of the bastion; in the plan of these casemates, great improvements have been made upon that of Vauban. But its greatest merit appears to rest upon the skilful adaptation of an interior defence or general retrenchment, thus providing for securely awaiting the assault of the breaches. The barracks that in the usual methods are common buildings, placed opposite the middle of the curtains, are in this united to form one continuous polygon. These are vaulted bomb-proof throughout, are wholly covered by the rampart from any direct fire, and the passage that intervenes between them and the rampart, has reverse flanking defences from vaults beneath the bastions. As no besieger would undertake to breach, assault, and occupy more than two of the bastions, these defences will remain uninjured until the moment they are needed.

Of the value of sorties when they can be made in force, and without the necessity of the preparation demanded when the besieged is shut up as it were by his own counterscarp, an American instance may be cited. In the campaign of 1814, the American army was forced by a superior British force, into the lines and petty fortress of Fort Erie. These were so weak as to invite an assault, which was attempted but repelled. The British army then took up its quarters beyond the reach of the fire of the works, and commenced a siege in form. After they had constructed their first parallel, opened some of its batteries, and had completed others that were about to commence their fire, a

sortie was made, directed along the shore of the lake, in such manner as to take the parallel and batteries in flank; these were all carried and destroyed; the enemy in consequence raised the siege, and the American army speedily resumed offensive operations.

This is the only instance since Vauban invented parallels of attack, in which an inferior force compelled to enclose itself in fortifications, has been able to destroy the approaches of the enemy, and inflict upon him such an injury as to restore the equality of strength. Among the many gallant actions of that war it stands first in point of military skill, and in modern military history has no parallel except the sortie of Gibraltar. It furnishes one of the most conclusive proofs of the correctness of Carnot's views: had the works of Fort Erie been of the character of those of regular fortresses on the principles of Vauban or Cormontagne, a sortie capable of producing such decisive results, overwhelming the enemy at every point where he attempted to make a stand by a superior force, could not have been attempted; nor could any effort of tactics have enabled a force in itself numerically inferior, to exert upon every given position an absolute superiority. It was in tactics of this kind that the secret of Napoleon's most celebrated victories lay, and the same principle applied to another case was as skilfully developed in the sortie of Fort Erie.

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp has been looked to with great anxiety, as being likely in some degree to show how far the views of Carnot would bear the test of actual warfare. It was to be anticipated, that in the very fortress which his mere name had before protected from any attempt, some germ of his principles would have been called into action. It might have been expected, that long as the place had been threatened with siege, and possessed of a water communication with Holland unimpeded until the siege commenced, the buildings of the fortress would have been put into such a state as to defy the curved projectiles of the besieger; that preparations for covered fires of the same description would have been made, and facilities provided for issuing suddenly and in force upon the approaches of the assailants. No one of these expectations has been justified by the result. It seems to have been anticipated, that the besieger would have treated the buildings of the citadel with as much tenderness as is usually shown to those of cities, and would have exhibited the same forbearance towards the troops of a garrison, as is now usually shown to the unarmed inhabitants of walled towns. So far from this, the number of shells thrown at this siege appears to have exceeded that employed in any former instance; the French accounts make the quantity during some single days of the siege, to have amounted to eighteen

hundred. Before this continual shower of curved projectiles, the whole of the buildings of ordinary construction became a prey to the flames; the strongest walls were crumbled to dust, and many of the vaults gave way. It is stated as one of the reasons for asking a capitulation, that the magazine of provisions was destroyed. The vaults, impervious to the bomb that remained, were insufficient to contain the garrison. It is probable that this profuse expenditure of vertical projectiles, did in fact shorten in some degree the duration of the siege, but we doubt whether this lessened time is in any degree equivalent to the enormous cost of this profuse fire, or to the damage inflicted upon the buildings of a fortress, which, when taken, was to be immediately placed in the possession of a friendly power. It may be doubted whether if the citadel of Antwerp were to have become, when captured, an integral part of France, this thorough destruction would have been a part of the plan of operation.

The sorties of the garrison appear to have been ill-timed, or governed by the imperfection of their communications, rather than by the fitness of the occasion. While the French trenches were still at a distance, and when no other result could have been anticipated in the presence of a force of twenty to one, than disturbance and delay, sallies were made in force; and yet as might have been anticipated, produced no more effect than could have been attained by small numbers. When the trenches became involved between the lunettes of St. Laurent and Kiel, and sorties might have been productive of the most splendid results, they became weak and consequently inefficient. When the glacis of the citadel was reached, and they might have been still more effective, they appear to have ceased altogether. Such indeed was the imperfection of the communications, that the guards of the re-entering place of arms, appear to have been cut off from all retreat. So in respect to shells: it appears from the journal of General Chasse, that at the time of the formation of the passage of the ditch of the Toledo bastion, he was compelled to be sparing of them, in consequence of the smallness of the supply. They must therefore not have been originally provided in sufficient abundance, or must have been lavishly used at times when they were of but little value, instead of being reserved for the epoch at which their use would have been of the utmost consequence. No mention is made of pierriers as forming any part of the defence. In respect to all explosive projectiles, we have learned from an American soldier of high distinction, who was present, that those used by the garrison were far less injurious to the besieger than they ought to have been, in consequence of miscalculation of the time of the burning of their fuses. This appears by the French accounts, to have been particularly the case towards the end of the siege, when very few of the grenades

exploded. It is also remarked by them, that the direction of the defence appeared from its character to be entrusted to an officer of artillery and not to an engineer; for while the cannon were admirably served and pointed, their action fell upon points which were so far advanced as to be little susceptible of injury, and was therefore to a certain extent wasted upon works already completed, instead of being applied to prevent the progress of those in actual execution. Upon the whole then, the defence merits the epithet of gallant, and compared with that of the Austrian commander in 1794, of glorious, but in the present state of the art it cannot be called skilful.

We shall, however, try it by the test of the calculations of Vauban and Cormontagne. The trenches were opened on the 28th of November, the lunette was taken on the 14th of December, or at the end of sixteen days. At such a distance from the fortress a defence of its covered way, or any attempt at dislodging the enemy from it, was unavailable; from the twenty days that are considered necessary to form a practicable breach in a work, the four allotted to the occupation of its covered way are to be deducted; and we find that the fictitious journal agrees exactly with the fact. This lunette therefore, held out not an hour longer than it ought to have done, on the assumed minimum of defence.

On the 23d December the citadel surrendered: nine days therefore were employed from that of the capture of the lunette, to that in which all was ready for an assault of the Toledo bastion. According to the usual estimate, three days are required to complete a lodgment in an outwork, and make it a part of the works of attack. But before its capture, the French had enveloped it with their saps, and commanded its gorge. Their trenches were therefore pushed at once from the right and left, and the occupation effected instantly. The occupation of the glacis of the lunette Montebello, in front of the works of the town, enabled the French not only to push their approaches on the left flank of St. Laurent, but to advance so far as to be able to insult the covered way of the half-moon, in rear of the lunette St. Laurent, and begin a fourth parallel; they were in consequence ready to batter the Toledo bastion, and effect the passage of its ditch at as early a period as if the place had no half-moon. For this operation, up to the formation of a practicable breach, and the preparation for an assault, the fictitious journal allows twelve days; but we have seen that it was effected in nine. The besieged then had a permanent retrenchment consisting of the cavalier of the Toledo bastion, and might have awaited the result of an assault. Even had this been successful, two days more must have elapsed before cannon could have been brought up to force the retrenchment, and therefore before a capitulation

became necessary. Thus the citadel fell at least five days before it ought, according to the usual estimates, and the besiegers gained three days more by their successful boldness in turning the lunette St. Laurent on the left, and penetrating between it and that of Kiel. Had the latter operation not been attended with success, it must have been stigmatized as rash. Eight days, then, in all, were gained by the besiegers upon the usual routine of attack and defence, three of which may be assigned to the very great superiority in their force, and five to a want of skill in the defenders. Of the want of resolution, their general cannot be accused: but it appears as if his troops were, towards the end of the siege, rather anxious to see it finished, than to gain the laurels due to an obstinate resistance.

It is to be considered that the circumstances of the time would hardly have been a justification to General Chasse for withstanding an assault, even with a certainty of successful resistance. No one object was to be attained by it, but a waste of human life. The great cost of reducing the fortress, so far as the expenditures of ammunition and labour were concerned, had already been incurred; and in this respect the siege of the citadel of Antwerp is probably the most costly in the annals of modern warfare. The siege of Gibraltar by the French and Spaniards, in 1779 and 1780, may indeed be cited as having involved a much greater expenditure of money. This is however an exception to all general rules. The position of that fortress, wholly surrounded by the sea, except a narrow isthmus, preserves it wholly from ricochet batteries. To remedy this difficulty, the besiegers attempted the construction of floating batteries. These were however brought up, and applied to direct attack upon the water defences of the fortress, instead of being anchored at a distance to silence its land defences by an enfilading fire. In this unwise attempt, they were overwhelmed by the fire of the besieged; the batteries on the land were also destroyed by a sortie; and thus the besiegers were finally compelled to content themselves with a bombardment. By this the whole of the buildings of the town were ruined, but no material injury was done to the works of defence. The Spaniards being undisputed masters of the whole of the neighbouring country, prepared their ammunition and projectiles at leisure, and sent them to the spot without the least risk; they thus exhibited an apparatus of artillery far more extensive than is usual in sieges. Their want of success is a convincing proof, if any other were needed, that it is hopeless to attempt to reduce a place by bombardment, however lively or long continued.

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp also forms an exception. This operation could hardly be styled warlike. The force sent by the French was not only sufficient to perform all the duties

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of the siege, but to form an army of observation adequate to check any movement on the part of the Dutch, while a Belgian army, itself probably adequate to the latter purpose, lay in readiness to act. Here therefore the besiegers, in the heart of a friendly country, unimpeded by the fear of any hostile movement, and in addition possessed of free communication by water with their own arsenals, brought into play an artillery unexampled in any former siege. The batteries of the first parallel are said to have been mounted with one hundred and fourteen pieces of ordnance, of which nearly half were mortars of large caliber. According to the rules of Vauban, thirty-two cannon and twelve mortars might have sufficed for this object, had the place no detached works. But for the enfilade of the two faces of the lunette St. Laurent, and one face of that of Kiel, nine more cannon would have been needed, in strict conformity with his principles. In this estimate of one hundred and fourteen pieces, we believe that those afterwards mounted on the glacis of the lunette Montebello were not included. If this be the case, the cannon brought into battery by the French, were more than double the number that would in any ordinary case have been brought before the fortress, and the mortars four times as many. We conceive that, by the inspection of the journal of the siege, it will appear that this enormous display of artillery did not advance the time at which the preparations were completed for the assault of the Toledo bastion a single hour, for we must ascribe the diminished duration of the siege, which we have before noted, partly to errors in the defence, and partly to an unusual boldness in the manner in which the approaches were pushed forward. This boldness was not without its penalty, for the daily casualties in the French army do not appear to have fallen far short of the whole loss incurred by Vauban at the siege of Ath. This boldness is not however without its justification, for it can hardly be questioned that a prolonged exposure of the troops in the trenches must have been more fatal than the fire of the enemy. The season was the very worst of the whole year, and the soil of such a nature that the trenches were continually loaded with water: hence disease might have counted more victims than the sword.

A review of the whole of the operations of this siege, leads us to the conclusion that the art of attack has luckily made no progress since the epoch of Vauban's great improvements; while the art of defence is unquestionably on the advance, and a siege is now sustained with vastly more confidence than it would have been in the early wars of the French revolution. The time is perhaps at hand, when some happy commander shall carry into full effect the principles of Carnot, and restore fortification to some of the importance that was ascribed to it in the age of Louis XIV. We cannot however expect that any improvement will be

made, which will place the arts of attack and defence again upon a level. Yet that the equilibrium should be restored is much to be wished, for until this be effected, the boundaries of countries cannot be considered permanent—weak states will lie at the mercy of their more powerful neighbours, and what is still more important, the inhabitants of cities will not venture to contend for their freedom against oppressive rulers.

ART. V.—*Human Physiology; illustrated by Numerous Engravings.* By ROBLEY DUNGLISON, M. D., *Professor of Physiology, Pathology, &c., in the University of Virginia, Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c.* Carey & Lea: Philadelphia: 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1050.

THE science of physiology presents a claim to attention which is seldom urged in vain: we are ourselves the subject of which it treats. We can understand why the mass of mankind should take but little interest in the pursuits of the astronomer, the geologist, the chemist;—but physiology comes home to the bosoms of all; treats of the various functions of our own living bodies, of the whole mechanism of these frames, so “fearfully and wonderfully made.” If, then, the instinct of self-love, which is so powerful in all other cases, could influence us in our choice of studies, we might expect physiology to be the most popular of all the physical sciences. How, then, we may well inquire, has it happened, that the study of this science has been almost exclusively confined to the members of a single profession? Why is it, that men of extensive learning, who would blush to be detected in a false Latin quantity, or to be found unacquainted with the boundaries of a distant empire—are often utterly ignorant of the structure and functions of their own bodies? It can only be because the science has not been made accessible to them. Until very lately, the works on physiology have been addressed exclusively to medical men, and have presupposed an acquaintance with anatomy, which the general reader does not possess, and from the ordinary means of acquiring which he would probably recoil. This difficulty, however, has been at length removed. The time has arrived, when the “science of life” is brought within the reach of every student—when our natural curiosity with regard to it may be satisfied—and, indeed, when total ignorance on a subject that so nearly concerns us, can no longer be held entirely excusable. In the English language, two works have recently made their appearance, which have the desired character; the *Essays*, by Sir Charles Bell, on Animal Phy-

siology, in the Library of Useful Knowledge, and the Treatise on Human Physiology, by Professor Dunghlison, of the University of Virginia.

The first of these productions, which occupies but four numbers of the Library, and is confined to the consideration of the nutritive functions, is, of course, very incomplete; but it entirely fulfils the desire of its able author, when he says, "this treatise will not have been written in vain, if it should do no more than show that the science of life is perfectly open to the student of nature, and one, to the cultivation of which he may approach without the apprehension of meeting with any extraordinary difficulties."

The work of Dr. Dunghlison covers the whole ground of the science of physiology, and treats every part of it with sufficient detail to be intelligible, without ever running into such length as to become tedious. It presents an accurate view, drawn from the best sources, of the present state of this department of knowledge, including the most recent investigations, and thus supplies a desideratum which has long been felt. But a character of the work which is very important, especially to the non-professional student, is, that it is complete within itself, not requiring a knowledge of any other science, or a reference to any other source. When a function is to be considered, the author first gives a description of the organs concerned in it, illustrated by well executed wood cuts, so as to make the anatomy of the parts easily comprehended. If any other preliminary knowledge be required, it is given in like manner. Thus, under the heads of vision and audition, we find sketches of those parts of optics and acoustics which are necessary in order to understand the functions of the eye and ear. The whole work, moreover, is executed by a master hand, written in an attractive style, and calculated to interest the reader by its manner, as well as its matter.

In giving some account of this production, it will be our aim to bring it, and the science of which it treats, before the notice of the general reader, to whom we specially address ourselves. The members of the profession must therefore excuse us, if they find us assuming sometimes a didactic tone, calling attention to subjects that have been long familiar to them, and writing an analytical rather than a critical review.

The treatise naturally commences with general views respecting inorganic and organized matter, and the differences between animals and vegetables. This last topic, it is well known, has given rise to many curious speculations, and naturalists have never yet been able to fix upon any positive test, by which the subjects of the two kingdoms can be, in all cases, distinguished from each other.

"Between animals and vegetables," says our author, "that are situated high in their respective classes, no error can possibly be indulged. The characters are obvious at sight. No one can confound the horse and the oak, the butterfly and the potato. It is on the lower confines of the two kingdoms that we are liable to be deceived. Many of the zoophytes have alternately been considered vegetable and animal; and it is not until of modern date, that the sponge has been universally elevated to that kingdom to which it is entitled. Nor is this to be wondered at. In its attachment to the rock, it is as immoveable as the lichen is to the slate, and almost equally deficient in the usual characteristics of animality."

Among the characters possessed by animals, those of sensation and voluntary motion might be considered as distinctive. It is on account of these endowments, indeed, that they are said to be animated, and are called animals. But philosophers have not been wanting, and those, too, of high authority, who have denied the universality of this distinction, and have ascribed the same qualities, though in a low degree, to plants. If we touch an oyster, it instantly withdraws itself into its shell: if we touch the sensitive plant, it shrinks from our hand, and its leaflets collapse. Who shall assert that there is sensation in one case and not in the other? In whatever way a seed is placed in the ground, when it germinates, the stem will always shoot upward, and the roots downward. If a plant be placed in a room which has no light except through a small opening, it will extend itself toward this opening, and, if practicable, pass through it, in order to reach the broad light and the open air. This may be often seen in the common potato, left in our cellars in the spring, which throws out its stalks to an unnatural length, and always toward the light. "The roots of plants proceed in pursuit of proper nourishment, and alter their course the moment they approach a situation which would be injurious to them. If a wet sponge be placed near a root exposed to the air, the root will direct its course to the sponge; and if the place of the sponge be changed, the root will vary its direction."*

These examples have certainly the appearance of spontaneous movements. Dr. Dunglison and Sir Charles Bell, both, indeed, ascribe them to the mere power of contracting on the application of a stimulus; but the philosopher may well be excused, who would refer them to a higher source, and believe that they gave evidence of an obscure volition, not perhaps very different, either in kind or degree, from that possessed by the lowest orders of animals. But if we yield this, it is the utmost point to which we can go. The notion that plants may be possessed of *sentiments* is purely imaginary, and almost too extravagant even for poetry itself. It is impossible to read Darwin's *Loves of the Plants*, notwithstanding all the genius with which this poem is invested,

without being sometimes reminded of the saying of Napoleon, that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.

The next subject treated by our author is "the material composition of man;" under which head he enumerates, first the chemical elements, and next the organic elements, proximate principles, or compounds of organization, which are combinations of two or more chemical elements, in definite proportions. The organic elements, variously combined, constitute the different parts of the animal fabric—bone, cartilage, muscle, and so forth—which are next considered. Under this head, a question is discussed, which is of general interest, and which we shall therefore present to our readers.

Every one knows that our frames are composed of solids and fluids, but with regard to the proportion in which they enter, we have no doubt that a very erroneous impression is generally entertained.

"The positive quantity or proportion of the fluids in the human body does not admit of easy appreciation, as it must obviously vary at different periods, and under different circumstances. The younger the animal, the greater is the preponderance of the fluids. When we first see the embryo, it appears to be almost entirely fluid. As it becomes gradually developed, the solid parts are increased in their relative proportion, until the adult age; after which this proportion becomes less and less as the individual advances in life. During the whole of existence, too, the quantity of fluids in the body fluctuates. At times there is plethora or unusual fulness of vessels; at others, the blood is less in quantity. Experiments have been made for the purpose of ascertaining the relative proportion of the fluids to the solids. Richerand says, that they are in the ratio of six to one; Chaussier, of nine to one. The latter professor put a dead body, weighing one hundred and twenty pounds, into a heated oven, and dried it. After desiccation, it was found to be reduced to twelve pounds. It is probable, however, that some of the more solid portions were driven off by the heat employed, and hence that the evaluation of the proportion of the fluids is too high. In the Egyptian mummies, which are completely deprived of fluid, we find the solids extremely light, not weighing more than seven pounds; but, as we are ignorant of the original weight of the body, we cannot arrive at any comparative approximation. The dead bodies, found in the arid sands of Arabia, afford additional instances of this reduction by desiccation, as well as the dried preparations of the anatomical theatre. To a less extent, we have the same thing exhibited in the excessive diminution in weight, which occurs in disease, and occasionally in those who are apparently in health. Not many years ago, an *anatomie vivante* was exhibited in London, to the gaze of the curious and scientific, whose weight was not more than eighty pounds. Yet the ordinary functions were carried on, apparently unmodified. In the year 1830, a still more wonderful phenomenon was exhibited in New York, who was called the "*living skeleton*." This extraordinary being was forty-two years old, five feet two inches high, and weighed but sixty pounds. His weight was formerly one hundred and thirty-five pounds. For sixteen years previously, he had been gradually losing flesh, without any apparent disease, having enjoyed perfect health and appetite, eating, drinking, and sleeping as well as any one. We have it also on the authority of Captain Riley, that, after protracted sufferings in Africa, he was reduced from two hundred and forty pounds to below ninety."

We who have seen Captain Riley's portly frame, must be excused if we doubt the accuracy of his statement—though we are disposed to give full credence to the voracity with which, after

his redemption, he devoured the ragout of beef and onions, of which he gives so appetising a description.

Dr. Dunglison next discusses the subject of the "elementary structure of animal substances." The tissues are known to be composed of fibres, and the fibres of filaments exceedingly minute, and which we might feel disposed to consider as the ultimate mechanical elements of organized bodies. But Leeuwenhoek announced, almost two centuries ago, that when he exposed these filaments to his microscope, he saw, to his wonder, that they were made up of very small globules. This statement was received with astonishment, not unaccompanied by great distrust; and, so difficult is it to make observations with the microscope, on very minute objects, that the question of the globular structure of organized matter remains in controversy to the present day. The great mass of microscopical observers, however, agree with Leeuwenhoek; and his discovery has even been extended, so as to constitute, if it could be established, one of the most extraordinary generalizations in physical science. It has been asserted, by Dr. Edwards, that every animal and even vegetable solid is composed of globular molecules, of the same size, namely about the 8,000th part of an inch in diameter: so that these globules must be regarded as the elementary organic corpuscles, which, by their various combinations, constitute all the animal and vegetable tissues. It appears, moreover, that the formation of these globules is not due to the direct influence of life, but that certain substances assume it, in consequence of the action of purely physical laws, whenever they pass from the liquid to the solid state—just as saline solutions form crystals, when they undergo the same change. Prevost and Dumas found that when fluid albumen was converted into a white coagulum, it abounded in globules, and that these globules showed the same disposition to form aggregates, as in the primitive tissues. Dr. Edwards has extended this observation to gelatine, fibrine, and the other proximate animal principles. These views seem so consonant with our general knowledge of the simplicity of the means by which nature brings about her infinitely varied ends, that they are certainly very seductive; but it must be remembered that the microscope has proved itself a most unsafe instrument in the hands of speculative philosophers, and that hypotheses founded upon its evidence must be ever received with great caution. This is signally proved, in the present case, by the assertions of a recent observer, Dr. Hodgkin, who declares that the globular structure, so long ascribed to the animal tissues, is a mere deception, and that he finds their most minute visible parts to be fibrous. If, after the concurrent testimony of so many observers, the *existence* of globular elements may be now legiti-

mately called in question, then can the microscope be no longer trusted by the physiologist as an instrument of investigation.

Among the "physical properties of the tissues," (the next subject considered,) there is one to which we are glad to have an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers, because it is new, is extremely curious in its physical and physiological bearings, and has received much important elucidation from experiments made in our own country: we allude to the permeability of membranes by fluids. Every one knows that porous bodies, such as sugar, wood, sponge, and the like, are capable of imbibing liquids with which they are brought in contact. In this case, the liquid is not merely introduced into the pores of the solid, as it would be into any empty space, but it is forcibly absorbed, so that it may be raised to a height considerably above its former level. The force exerted is unquestionably molecular, and is the same that we witness in the curious phenomena of the capillary tube, which, in fact, presents us with the simplest case of the insinuation of a liquid into a porous body. This force alone cannot, however, cause the liquid to pass entirely through the body. If a capillary tube, capable of raising water to the height of six inches, be depressed to one inch only above the surface, the water will rise to the top of the tube, but no part of it will escape. Even if the tube be inserted horizontally into the side of a vessel containing water, the water will only pass to the end of the tube. The same thing occurs when a liquid is placed in contact with one side of a porous membrane: it enters the pores, passes to the opposite side, and is there arrested. But if this membrane communicate with a second vessel containing a different liquid, such as a saline solution, capable of mixing with the first, and affected to a different degree by the capillary attraction, then a new phenomenon will be presented. It will be found that the liquids both enter the pores, and pass through the opposite side. They will not, however, be carried through with the same force; but that which has the greatest capillary ascension—that is, which will rise highest in a capillary tube—will pass in the greatest quantity, and cause an accumulation of liquid on the opposite side. This curious subject was first carefully studied by M. Dutrochet, who has presented his experiments and views with regard to it in several ingenious essays. He gave to the forces, which produce the penetration in opposite directions, the uncouth names of *endosmose* and *exosmose*, signifying inward impulsion and outward impulsion—terms which he afterwards acknowledged to be unhappily chosen. He at first supposed that the stronger current always took place from the lighter to the denser fluid, and that it was produced by electrical agency. Both these views were overthrown, by conclusive and most ingenious experiments, made by Dr. J. K. Mitchell, of Philadelphia, in

1830; and they have been both abandoned since, by M. Dutrochet himself, in favour of the principle which we have stated above, and which he has presented in a paper published in the *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, for April, 1832.

Many of Dutrochet's experiments were repeated, and some new ones devised, by Dr. Togno, of Philadelphia, in 1828; and, as an example of this penetration, we will mention one of his results. A cœcum, containing a small quantity of gum arabic solution, was firmly closed by ligatures, and immersed in water. In 11 hours, its weight was found to have increased from 140 grains to 261, having gained 121 grains. In 9 hours more, its weight was increased to 284 grains, and it had become very turgid, the quantity of liquid in the sac being increased more than three fold. Thus the water did not merely infiltrate into the intestine, but penetrated into it with great force.

Porous substances absorb gases as well as liquids; and the force with which they do this is so great, as to produce, in many cases, a very considerable condensation of the gas absorbed. Thus, freshly prepared charcoal, will absorb more than 9 times its bulk of oxygen, 35 times its bulk of carbonic acid, 55 times its bulk of sulphureted hydrogen, and 90 times its bulk of ammonia. Moreover, we know that the gases all mix perfectly well with one another. We might therefore expect, that when any two gases are separated from each other by a partition formed of any porous substance, their mutual penetrative force would be rendered very apparent. Such is accordingly the case; and we are indebted to Dr. Mitchell, for an extremely interesting course of experiments on this subject. We can mention but two or three of these. Hydrogen gas was introduced into a wide-mouthed bottle, over which he tied firmly a thin sheet of gum elastic. In a few hours, the descent of the cover showed that the hydrogen was escaping, and finally the cover was burst inwards by the pressure of the atmosphere. In a following experiment, the arrangement of the gases was altered. Common air was enclosed in the bottle, and it was placed in a bell-glass filled with hydrogen. As was expected, the hydrogen entered the bottle rapidly, raised up to the tense membrane, and finally burst through it, "and thus made its escape from the confinement to which it had been spontaneously subjected." When a gum elastic bag, containing a very small portion of air, was placed in carbonic acid, or nitrous oxide, it became inflated; but when introduced entirely empty, it did not undergo the slightest inflation. Dr. Mitchell then contrived a kind of *permeometer*, by which he was enabled to compare the penetrative force of different gases, through a membrane, into common air, by the time occupied in elevating, to a given height, a mercurial column; and he found that ammonia, (the most penetrative of the gases,)

transmitted, in 1 minute, as much in volume, as sulphureted hydrogen in $2\frac{1}{2}$ minutes—cyanogen in $3\frac{1}{4}$ —carbonic acid in $5\frac{1}{2}$ —nitrous oxide in $6\frac{1}{2}$ —arsenureted hydrogen in $27\frac{1}{2}$ —olefiant gas in 28—hydrogen in $37\frac{1}{2}$ —oxygen in 113—carbonic oxide in 160. In one experiment, he found the penetrative force so great, as to counteract the pressure of a mercurial column 63 inches in height.

The bearing of these experiments upon absorption, transudation, respiration, and other processes in the animal system, is manifest; and we were happy therefore to find that Dr. Dunglison had ascribed to them their due importance, and to the ingenious experimenters their due credit.

Dr. Dunglison now commences the consideration of the "functions of man"—"the character of each of which is, that it fulfils a special and distinct office in the economy, for which it has an organ or instrument, or an evident apparatus of organs." The classification which he adopts, is that of Magendie and of Adelon, and is presented in the following

TABLE OF THE FUNCTIONS.

FUNCTIONS.	I. <i>Animal or of Relation.</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sensibility. 2. Muscular motion. 3. Expressions or language.
	II. <i>Nutritive.</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Digestion. 5. Absorption. 6. Respiration. 7. Circulation. 8. Nutrition. 9. Calorification.
	III. <i>Reproductive.</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Secretion. 11. Generation.

The function of sensibility is treated much at large. The author begins, according to his general plan, with a description of the apparatus by which this function is accomplished, and which comprises the whole nervous system. The task which he was here called upon to perform, is undoubtedly one of the most difficult of the whole work, and it has been executed with much skill. By proper method, clear language, and well chosen figures, he gives a sufficient and intelligible description of the brain, the cerebellum, the medulla oblongata, the spinal marrow, (which, together, constitute what has been lately called the *cerebro-spinal axis*;) and of the nerves which, originating in these, are distributed over the whole system. In a matter so obscure and complicated, we cannot pretend to follow him; but we are confident that his readers will peruse this part of the work with interest, for every one must feel a desire to have some acquaintance with the organs to which we owe the faculties of motion, sensation, and thought.

In treating of the "physiology of sensibility," our author

first establishes, by conclusive proofs, the fact that "every sensation, though referred to some organ, must be perfected in the brain. The impression is made upon the nerve of the part, but the appreciation takes place in the common sensorium." But though perception occurs in the encephalon, experiments show that this power does not belong to every part of it:—

"Many physiologists, amongst whom may be mentioned Haller, Lorry, Rolando, and Flourens, have sliced away the brain, and found that the sensations continued until the knife reached the level of the corpora quadrigemina; and again it has been found that if the spinal cord be sliced away from below upwards, the sensations persist until we reach the medulla oblongata. It is then in the medulla oblongata that we must place the cerebral organs of the senses, and it is with this part of the cephalo-spinal axis that the nerves of the senses communicate."

This paragraph must not be given without the following, by which it is modified as to a very prominent case:—

"It has been remarked that the cerebral hemispheres may be sliced away without abolishing the senses. The experiments of Rolando and Flourens, which have been repeated by Magendie, show however that the sight is an exception; that it is lost by the removal of the hemispheres. If the right hemisphere be sliced away, the sight of the left eye is lost, and *vice versa*; one of the facts proving the decussation of the optic nerves. The experiments of these gentlemen show that vision, more than the other senses, requires a connexion with the organ of the intellectual faculties—the cerebral hemispheres; and this, as Magendie has judiciously remarked, because vision rarely consists in a simple impression made by the light, but is connected with an intellectual process, by which we judge of the distance, size, shape, &c. of bodies."

As to the direct agent of nervous action, Dr. Dunglison gives a decided preference to the hypothesis that it is of the nature of electricity. Numerous points of analogy could not fail to suggest this opinion: but it receives its greatest support from the fact that electricity, in the form in which it is generated in the Voltaic pile, may be substituted successfully, in many cases, for the ordinary influence transmitted by the nerves. Thus, by the application of the galvanic stimulus, after the recent death of an animal, the muscles may be made to contract, respiration may be renewed, and many other operations of life be exhibited. Dr. Wilson Philip has shown that if the "nerve proceeding to a part be destroyed, and the secretion which ordinarily takes place in the part be thus arrested, it may be restored, by causing the galvanic fluid to pass from one divided extremity of the nerve to the other." Evidence in favour of the hypothesis is also derived from the circumstance, that "comparative anatomy exhibits to us great development of nervous structure in those electrical animals, which surprise us by the intensity of the shocks they are capable of communicating."

Of the "external senses," the first considered is the "touch;" and it is naturally distinguished into the passive sensation, which is spread generally over the body, and the touch proper, which is exercised actively and voluntarily by parts destined for that pur-

pose. For the passive sense, Dr. Dunghlison has adopted, from the French, the word *tact*. It is perhaps a trifling piece of criticism to find fault with a word which has been distinctly defined, and is used only technically: yet we must confess we prefer Dr. Bostock's language, when he uses the word *touch* for the active sense, and *feeling* for the passive. It is true, that, in common parlance, the word feeling has a more general acceptation; but it has at least the advantage of including, among its meanings, that for which Dr. Bostock appropriates it: while "*tact*," which is used in English only metaphorically, does not. We say of a paralytic limb, that it is without "*feeling*:" who would not stare if we should say that it was destitute of "*tact*?"

It is by the touch alone that we can perceive resistance, and therefore this sense alone can exhibit to us that characteristic property of matter—its impenetrability. On this account, some have maintained that the touch is the only sense which can give us any notion of the existence of bodies, and that without it we could not be instructed in their size, shape, and distance. These opinions are combated, with much plausibility at least, in the work before us—though it may perhaps be difficult to find any conclusive evidence to bear upon this point. We know that complete notions of materiality, of size, of shape, of distance, can be formed, when the sight or the hearing, or even both, are entirely wanting; but no human being has yet existed, wholly deprived of the sense of feeling. The cases of Miss Biffin, Miss Honeywell, and others, born without the upper extremities, and yet possessing great intelligence, though they show that the usual organ of touch, the hand, is not so necessary an inlet of knowledge as some philosophers have imagined, are by no means decisive of the present question, for these unfortunate persons were still possessed of feeling—of the sense of resistance.

On the subject of "*taste*," there is a physiological fact which is curious, and probably unknown to many of our readers. The tongue is capable of conveying two kinds of sensations, that of ordinary feeling or touch, and that of taste. These reside in different nerves, distributed to the surface of the tongue. The gustatory nerves go to the formation of papillæ situated in a spongy erectile tissue.

"Now," says our author, "Sir Charles Bell has properly remarked, that if we take a pencil and a little vinegar, and touch, or even rub it strongly on the surface of the tongue, where these papillæ do not exist, the sensation of the presence of a cold liquid is alone experienced; but if we touch one of the papillæ with the point of the brush, and at the same time, apply a magnifying glass, it is seen to stand erect, and the acid taste is felt to pass, as it were backward to the root of the tongue."

Again;

"If we touch various parts of the tongue with the point of a needle, we find two distinct perceptions occasioned. In some parts we experience the sensation of a pointed body without savour; and in others, a metallic taste is

manifested. The organ of gustation is not, therefore, restricted to the production of that sense, but participates in the sense of touch. Yet so distinct are those functions, that the touch can, in nowise supply the place of its fellow, in detecting the rapidity of bodies."

Under the title "sense of smell," the following paragraph will be found curious.

"The use of the nose is to direct the air, charged with odours, towards the upper part of the nasal fossæ," [where the sense of smell is seated.] "Its situation is well adapted for the reception of emanations from bodies beneath it, and its appropriate muscles allow the nostrils to be more or less expanded or contracted. The uses we have assigned to the nose are demonstrated by the fact, that they, whose noses are deformed, especially the flat-nosed, or whose nostrils are directed forwards, instead of downwards, have commonly the sense very feebly developed. Sir Charles Bell, indeed, asserts, 'that the form of a man's nose has no relation to the extent or perfection of the organ of smelling;' the seat of the sense lying 'deep in the ethmoid bone.' Yet the loss of the nose, either by accident or disease, is found to completely destroy the sense; and by no means the least advantage of the Taliacotian operation is the enjoyment afforded by the restoration of this corporeal sense. M. Beclard affirms, that an artificial nose, formed of paper, or other appropriate material, is sufficient to restore it, so long as the substitute is attached. Of this we have had no experience, but no assertion of Belcard's is in need of confirmation."

Our author gives us a very full description of the curious and complicated organ to which we owe the sense of "hearing," and he also presents a clear view of the different opinions that have been entertained respecting the functions of its different parts. It is impossible, however, to study the physiology of audition, without being astonished and mortified at the uncertainty in which it is still involved. The science of acoustics is as well understood as that of optics, and the anatomical structure of the ear is as well known as that of the eye; yet with the mechanism of vision we are well acquainted, while there is not a single portion of the ear, the action and use of which we can be said to understand.

There is a subject discussed here by our author, which, in these days of melo-mania, we cannot pass over unnoticed—we mean the faculty of appreciating musical tones—the possession of the musical ear. It is well known, that many persons, whose hearing is perfect, are entirely deprived of this faculty, and can form no notion of the source of that pleasure which they witness in others. The cause of this difference has given rise to many conjectures; but Dr. Dunglison sides in opinion with those who think that it is not to be looked for in any defect or peculiarity in the organ of hearing, but belongs only to the intellectual sense, so that what we call a musical ear is more properly a musical brain. In favour of this opinion, many reasons are given by our author. An additional one will be found in the fact, that the enjoyment of music may be felt independently of the external sense. The celebrated Beethoven, became, in the latter part of his life, extremely deaf; yet he continued to take delight in his pianc. An amateur who visited him, mentions, that he saw him at his instrument, playing with exquisite skill and taste, but was

astonished to find, when he came to a pianissimo passage, that he touched the keys so lightly, as to produce no sound whatever. Yet he exhibited his usual feeling, and was quite unconscious of the awkward circumstance. We are acquainted with a musical amateur, who is very fond of reading, in perfect silence, the scores of the great composers; and who, that is susceptible of musical impressions, has not taken pleasure in thinking over, or *singing mentally* a favourite air? In all these cases, the enjoyment must be purely intellectual.

The author devotes to "vision" the attention which this truly elevated sense may so justly claim. He begins by presenting those principles of optics which are necessary in order to understand the functions of the eye; then enters into a detailed description of the organ itself, including its nerves, its muscles, and its other accessory parts; and lastly considers at large the phenomena and the physiology of vision. In the whole discussion of this subject, which occupies more than eighty pages of the work, questions of great interest are constantly presenting themselves. We are sorry to be obliged to confine our attention here to a very few of them.

The proper nerves of vision, arising from separate parts of the brain, pass forward to a hollow surface of the sphenoid bone, which the old anatomists have fancifully called the *sella turcica*, or Turkish saddle, where they are closely joined together. After leaving this point, they again separate, and each of them, passing into one of the eyes, expands itself over the interior surface, and forms the delicate membrane called the *retina*. Now three different opinions have been held by physiologists, as to the course of the fibres of the optic nerves, at their junction. Some believe that they simply approach and lie alongside of one another, but, in their progress, do not leave the side from which they originated. Others believe that the fibres actually cross one another at the *sella turcica*, so that the root of the nerve of the right eye is on the left side of the brain, and that of the left eye on the right. Another opinion is, that there is a partial decussation, "which concerns only the internal filaments, while the other pass directly on to half the corresponding eye; so that one-half of each eye is supplied by straight fibres, proceeding directly from the root of the same side, the other half by those which have crossed from the opposite side." The following curious experiments of Magendie, related by our author, in connexion with this subject, will be read with interest.

"He divided, in a rabbit, the right optic nerve, behind the point of decussation, or what has been called the *chiasma* of the nerves;—the sight of the left eye was destroyed. On cutting the left root, the sight of the right eye was equally destroyed; and on dividing the bond of union by a longitudinal incision, made between the nerves, vision was entirely abolished in both eyes;—a result, which, as he properly remarks, proves not only the existence of decussation,

but, also, that it is total and not partial, as Wollaston had supposed. Another experiment, which he instituted, led to a similar result. Fifteen days before examining a pigeon, he destroyed one eye. The nerve of the same side, as far as the chiasma, was wasted; and, behind the chiasma, the root of the opposite side. Rolando and Flourens, too, found in their experiments, that when one cerebral hemisphere was removed, the sight of the opposite eye was lost. We may conclude, then, in the present state of our knowledge, that there is not simply a junction, or what the French call *adossement*, of the optic nerves; but that they decussate at the sella turcica."

There is another circumstance, connected with the nerves of the eye, no less curious than that which we have just considered, and with respect to which we must quote a paragraph from our author.

"Of late it has been shown, by the experiments of Magendie, that the sensibility of the retina and the optic nerve is almost entirely *special*, and limited to the appreciation of light:—that the *general* sensibility is exclusively possessed by the fifth encephalic pair, and that the nerve of special sensibility is incapable of executing its functions, unless that of general sensibility be in a state of integrity. That distinguished physiologist found, when a couching needle was passed into the eye at its posterior part, that the retina might be punctured and lacerated without the animal exhibiting evidences of pain. The same result attended his experiments on the optic nerves. These nerves, both anterior and posterior to their decussation, as well as the thalami nervorum opticorum, the superficial layer of the tubercula quadrigemina, and the three pairs of motor nerves of the eye gave no signs of general sensibility. On the other hand, the general sensibility of the anterior part of the eye—of the conjunctiva—is well known. It is such, that the smallest particle of even the softest substance excites intense irritation. This general sensibility Magendie found to be totally annihilated by the division of the fifth pair of nerves within the cranium; so that hard-pointed bodies and even liquid ammonia made no painful impression on the conjunctiva. Nictation was arrested, and the eye remained dry and fixed like an artificial eye behind the paralyzed eyelids. The sight, in this case, also, was almost wholly lost; but by making the eye pass rapidly from obscurity into the vivid light of the sun, the eyelids approximated, and, consequently, some slight sensibility to light remained; but it was extremely slight. In this sense, then, as in the senses of hearing and smell, we have the distinction between a special nervous system of sense, and a nervous system of general sensibility, without which the former is incapable of executing its elevated functions."

One of the important powers possessed by the eye, is to give us the means of judging of the direction of visible objects. When a ray of light enters the pupil and strikes upon the retina, an impression is given to us as to the position of the object from which the ray emanated. How the mind performs its part of the judgment is a question of pure metaphysics, and probably above our reach; but the foundation of this judgment lies in the sense itself, and presents a problem, which it is the business of the optician to solve. Every one would be at first disposed to say that we see the object in the line in which the rays coming from it strike the retina; but a difficulty at once presents itself, which is, that every point of a visible object is painted upon the retina, not by a single ray, but by a cone of rays proceeding in *different* directions. An answer that has been made to this difficulty is, that we receive the impression only of the resultant of all the

impulses given to the retina, which resultant is in the direction of the axis of the cone. But, as Dr. Brewster, (now it seems dubbed Sir David,) remarks, if we close up all the pupil except a small opening at its margin, the visible point will be represented only by the most oblique rays of the conical pencil, and yet it will be seen in the same direction as before. To obviate these difficulties, Brewster has proposed a very plausible hypothesis. He supposes, that, in whatever direction a ray strikes the retina, the impression which it makes is always perpendicular to the surface, as would manifestly be the case if it acted like a mechanical impulse. Now, we judge the light to have come in the direction in which we feel this impression, that is, of a normal to the surface of the retina, at the point struck by the ray. But, as the surface of the retina is a portion of a sphere, these normals must all pass through one point, which Brewster calls the *centre of visible direction*; and the *law of visible direction*, which he announces, is, that an external object will be seen in the direction of a line, drawn from the point at which the light from the object strikes the retina, to the centre of the eye.

This theory is controverted by our author, who considers the direction in which a luminous point is seen, to be that of a line drawn from its image on the retina, through the optic centre of the crystalline lens. By a diagram in which the rays that pass through this centre are represented as going straight from the object to the retina, he demonstrates his own theory, while he shows that Brewster's law would lead to absurd conclusions when applied to bodies seen obliquely. But this manner of tracing the light, though commonly employed in books of optics, and used by Brewster himself, is certainly inaccurate, in as much as it leaves out of view the principal refraction which the ray undergoes—namely, when passing from the air into the cornea. Of the great amount of this refraction we may judge by the fact, that a bright object may be seen at a distance of 90° from the direction to which the eye is turned. In this case the rays must deviate entirely from their original course, in order to enter the pupil; and a straight line, drawn through the optic centre of the crystalline, from any point of the retina which we can suppose them to strike, could not reach the object. Yet we have a distinct and accurate idea of its position. We may judge of the amount of refraction at the cornea, by observing the appearance which the pupil presents when looked at through it. When seen in a direction at right angles to the optic axis, it seems to be protruded forward, and has the form of an ellipse, of which the lesser diameter is about half the greater—indicating a deviation of the rays, in passing out through the cornea, of no less than 30° . The rays which enter the eye suffer the same deviation; yet, in the ordinary mode of tracing their course, this circumstance is neglected.

On the whole, we see great difficulties in both these theories of visible direction; and we do not know any subject in optics that is more in need of accurate experimental investigation.

The famous paradoxes of our seeing bodies erect while their images painted on the retina are inverted, and of our seeing a body single while an image of it is painted on each eye, are both included, so far as they are merely physical inquiries, under the subject of visible direction, and are fully discussed by our author. He succeeds, we think, perfectly, in overthrowing the assertion of Dr. Arnott, that in the case of single vision, the images must be painted on points of the retina "equidistant and in similar directions from the centres of the retina."

Dr. Dunghlison calls our attention to a phenomenon, long forgotten, but which is very curious, and which the reader may readily observe for himself.

"We have now to mention a very singular fact, connected with double and multiple vision with one eye only. If a hair, a needle, or any small object be held before one eye—the other being closed—and within the point of distinct vision, so that the bright light of a lamp or from a window shall fall upon the object, in its passage to the eye, or be reflected from it, we appear to see not one object but many.

"This fact when it was first observed by the author, appeared to him to have entirely escaped the observation of opticians and physiologists, inasmuch as it has not been noticed in any of the works recently published on optics or physiology. On reference, however, to the excellent 'system' of Smith, on the former subject, he found in the '*Essay upon distinct and indistinct Vision*,' by Dr. Jurin, appended to that work, the whole phenomenon explained and elucidated at considerable length. The elaborate character of the explanation is probably the cause why the fact has not been noticed by subsequent writers.

"The best way of trying the experiment is that suggested by Jurin. Take a parallel ruler, and opening it slightly, hold it directly before the eye, so as to look at a window or lamp through the aperture. If the ruler be held at the visual point, the aperture will appear to form one luminous line; but if it be brought nearer to the eye, it will appear double, or as two luminous lines, with a dark line between them; and according as the aperture is varied—or the distance from the eye—two, three, four, five or more luminous and dark parallel lines will be perceptible."

The explanation of this appearance, given by Dr. Jurin, is founded on Newton's theory of the fits of easy reflection and refraction of light, and is fully presented in Dr. Dunghlison's work.

On the important topic of the "mental faculties," our author adopts the orthodox doctrine of an immaterial sentient principle, requiring, however, for its exercise, a special organ; and he gives conclusive proofs that this organ is the encephalon, or at least that part of it called the cerebrum, or brain proper. He shows himself strongly inclined to believe in the independence of the organ of intellect upon the external senses; saying that "it requires these indeed for its perfect development, but is still capable of manifesting itself, without the presence of many, and *probably of any of them*." Even with the addition of the internal

sensations of hunger, thirst, pain, &c., proposed by Cabanis, our author seems disposed to controvert the long received maxim of Aristotle, "*nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.*"

It need hardly be mentioned, that our author pays a proper attention to the celebrated phrenological system of Dr. Gall, which, as he states, "has given rise to more philosophical inquiry, laborious investigation, and, it must be admitted, to more idle enthusiasm, and intolerant opposition, than any of the psychological doctrines advanced in modern times."

"The foundation of this doctrine is, that the brain is not a single organ, but is composed of as many nervous systems as there are primary and original faculties of the mind. According to Gall, the brain is a groupe of several organs, each of which is concerned in the production of a special moral act; and, according as the brain of an animal contains a greater or less number of these organs, and of a greater or less degree of development, the animal has, in its moral sphere, a greater or less number, or more or less active faculties.

"In like manner, as there are as many sensorial nervous systems and organs of sense as there are external senses, there are as many cerebral nervous systems as there are special moral faculties or internal senses. Each moral faculty has, in the brain, a nervous part, concerned in its production, as each sense has its special nervous system; the sole difference being, that the nervous systems of the senses are separate and distinct, whilst those of the brain are crowded together in the small cavity of the cranium, and appear to form but one mass."

The proofs adduced by Dr. Gall, in favour of this doctrine of a separate organ in the brain for each mental faculty, are given in detail; but the author does not subscribe to them, nor does he distinctly reject them. To us they have always appeared very unsatisfactory. There is scarcely one of them, indeed, which might not be applied, with equal force, to prove a complication of organs in the stomach. Let us try an example or two.

"In the same individual, all the faculties do not appear, nor are they all lost, at the same periods. Each age has its own psychology. How then can we explain these intellectual and moral varieties, according to age, under the hypothesis that the brain is a single organ?"—Might we not also say: the likings and loathings of the stomach do not appear, and are not lost, at the same periods. Each age has its particular tastes. The child delights in molasses and gingerbread, the man in porter and beef. How can we explain these varieties on the supposition that the stomach is a single organ?

Again, Dr. Gall says, "It is a common observation, that when we are fatigued with one kind of mental occupation, we have recourse to another; yet it often happens that the new labour, instead of adding to the fatigue experienced from the former, is a relaxation. This would not be the case, if the brain were a single organ, and acted as such, but is readily explicable under the doctrine of a plurality of organs. It is owing to a fresh cerebral organ having been put in action." Does not the stomach present us with a perfectly parallel case? Does it not become fatigued

with the long use of any particular kind of food, even if "tours perdrix," and, when thus cloyed, will it not receive another with perfect relish? How could this be the case, if it had not a pouch for the digestion of partridges, another for the digestion of mutton, &c.?

Let us take one more parallel. "Insanity, says Gall, is frequently confined to one single train of ideas, as in the variety called *monomania*. Is it possible to comprehend this fact under the hypothesis of the unity of the brain?" In like manner, the stomach, sound in all other respects, has sometimes a loathing for a particular article of food, a kind of monophobia. Some have an antipathy for cheese—some for honey. Does not this prove the existence of special honey and cheese compartments, in the organ of digestion?

The view which Dr. Dunghison gives of Gall's system is clear and candid. He states fairly the arguments for and against it, and concludes with the following remarks :

"The views of Gall are by no means established. They require numerous and careful experiments, which it is not easy for every one to institute; and this is one of the causes, why the minds of individuals will long remain in doubt regarding the merits or demerits of his system. From the mere metaphysician, who has not attended to the organization and functions of the frame, especially of its encephalic portion, it has ever experienced the greatest hostility; although his conflicting views regarding the intellectual and moral faculties was one of the grounds for the division of the phrenologist. It is now, however, we believe, generally admitted by the liberal and scientific, that if we are to attain a further knowledge of the mental condition of man, it must be by a combination of sound psychological and physiological observation and deduction. It is time, indeed, that such a union should be effected, and that the undisguised and inveterate hostility which exists between certain of the professors of these interesting departments of anthropology should be abolished."

On the subject of "muscular motion," the most interesting inquiry is that which regards its connexion with *will*. In the voluntary movements, a mysterious power seems to emanate from the brain, to be conveyed along the nerves, and to command what muscles shall contract, and with what force and for what time they shall continue their action. What is the seat of the will and of the motive forces? What the nature of the influence conveyed along the nerves? How does it produce the muscular contraction? These are important questions, which have justly attracted great attention, and which are ably discussed in the work before us.

In order to determine the seat of the motive forces, Flourens, Rolando, Magendie, and other physiologists, removed different parts of the encephalon, in living animals, and observed the consequences which were produced. These experiments, which are of recent date, have excited the deepest interest. We regret that our space will not permit us to present a sketch of them to our readers; but we are glad to have so satisfactory a work as that of Dr. Dunghison's to refer them to.

Among the most singular experiments made on this subject are those of Magendie, from which he infers, "that there exist, in the brain, four spontaneous impulses or forces, which are situated at the extremities of the two lines cutting each other at right angles; the one impelling forwards, the second backwards; the third from right to left, causing the body to rotate; and the fourth from left to right, occasioning a similar movement of rotation."—"Magendie thus makes the animal a kind of automatic machine, wound up for the performance of certain motions, but incapable of producing any others."

We shall now extract some of the proofs brought forward in support of this hypothesis.

"1. *Forward Impulse*.—It has often been observed by those who have made experiments on the cerebellum, that injuries of that organ cause the animals to recoil, and manifestly against their will. Magendie asserts, that he has frequently seen animals wounded in the cerebellum, make an attempt to advance, but be immediately compelled to run back; and he says, that he kept a duck for eight days, the greater part of whose cerebellum he had removed, which did not move forwards during the whole of that time, except when placed upon water. Pigeons, into whose cerebella he thrust pins, constantly walked, and flew backwards, for more than a month afterwards. Hence, he concludes, that there exists, either in the cerebellum or medulla oblongata, a force of impulsion, which tends to cause animals to go forwards.

"2. *Backward Impulse*.—When the corpora striata are removed, Magendie found that the animal darted forward with great rapidity; and, if stopped, still maintained the attitude of running. This was particularly remarked in young rabbits; the animal appearing to be impelled forward by an inward and irresistible power; and passing over obstacles without noticing them. These effects were not found to take place, unless the white, radiated part of the corpora striata was cut: if the gray matter was alone divided, no modification was produced in the movements. If only one of the corpora was removed, it remained master of its movements, and directed them in different ways; stopping when it chose; but, immediately after the abstraction of the other, all regulating power over the motions appeared to cease, and it was irresistibly impelled forwards.

"3. *Lateral Impulse*.—Again, if the peduncles of the cerebellum—the *crura cerebelli*—be divided in a living animal, it immediately begins to turn round, as if impelled by a considerable force. The rotation or circumgyration is made in the direction of the divided peduncle; and, at times, with such rapidity, that the animal makes as many as sixty revolutions in a minute. The same kind of effect is produced by any vertical section of the cerebellum, which implicates, from before to behind, the whole substance of the medullary arch, formed by that organ above the fourth ventricle, but the movement is more rapid, the nearer the section is to the origin of the peduncles; in other words, to their point of junction with the pons varolii.

"Magendie affirms, that he has seen this movement continue for eight days, without stopping, and apparently, without suffering. When any impediment was placed in the way, the motion was arrested; and, under such circumstances, the animal frequently remained with its paws in the air and ate in this attitude. What he conceives to have been one of his most singular experiments was, the effect of the division of the cerebellum into two lateral and equal halves; when the animal appeared to be alternately impelled to the right and left, without retaining any fixed position. If he made a turn or two on one side, he soon changed his motion and made as many on the other."

"These four general movements are not the only ones, excited by particular injuries done to the nervous system. Magendie states that a circular move-

ment, to the right or left, similar to that of horses in a circus, was caused by the division of the medulla oblongata, to the outer side of the corpora pyramidalia anteriora. When the section was made on the right side, the animal turned, in this fashion, to the right: and to the left, if it was made on that side."

These are undoubtedly very extraordinary experiments, but we cannot think that the strange hypothesis of Magendie is logically deduced from them. The play of the muscles, in walking forward and backward and in a curve, is almost identical; a very slight modification producing all the difference in these motions. The most then that can be inferred from the experiments is that the parts of the encephalon selected by Magendie, are the seats of this modification—for the principal movements are the same in all cases. Thus, from the last experiment quoted above, nothing more can be pretended, than that, at the outer side of the medulla oblongata, there resides an impulse which causes animals when running to stretch out the limbs on one side more than those on the other. But can any one believe that extensive portions of the brain are really set apart by nature for such partial and trifling purposes? Every body has observed, that, when we are in pain, we have a disposition to bend or lean toward the part affected. If struck on the stomach, we throw ourselves suddenly forward—if on the back, we bend the body backward. May not the phenomena observed by Magendie be referrible to a similar impulse? When an anterior sensible part of the brain is wounded, the pain felt by the animal may urge it to move forward, for the same reason that we lean forward when suffering from headach. What that reason is, we do not know; but it certainly is not to be ascribed to any such machinery in the brain as the imagination of the distinguished French physiologist has fabricated.

As to the manner in which muscular contraction is effected, numerous hypotheses have been proposed, and are discussed by our author. The most recent, and perhaps the most probable, is the electrical theory, which supposes the nerves to convey a fluid of a "galvanoid character" from the brain and spinal marrow. The following views of Messrs. Dumas and Prevost are extremely curious.

"By a microscope, magnifying ten or twelve diameters, they first of all examined the manner in which the nerves are arranged in a muscle; and found, as has been already observed, that their ramifications always entered the muscle in a direction perpendicular to its fibres. They satisfied themselves, that none of the nerves really terminate in the muscle; but that the final ramifications embrace the fibres, like a noose, and return to the trunk that furnishes them, or to one in its vicinity; the nerve setting out from the anterior column of the spinal marrow, and returning to the posterior. On further examining the muscles, at the time of their contraction, the parallel fibres composing them, were found, by the microscope, to bend in a zigzag manner, and to exhibit a number of regular undulations; such flexions forming angles, which varied according to the degree of contraction, but were never under fifty degrees. The flexions, too, always occurred at the same parts of the fibre, and to them the shortening of

the muscle was owing, as M. M. Dumas and Prevost proved by calculating the angles.

"The angular points were always found to correspond to the parts, where the small nervous filaments enter, or are fixed into the muscles. They therefore believed, that these filaments, by their approximation, induce contraction of the muscular fibre; and this approximation they have ascribed to a galvanic current running through them; which, as the fibres are parallel and very near each other, they have thought, ought to cause them to attract each other, according to the law laid down by Ampère, that two currents attract each other when they move in the same direction. The living muscles are, consequently, regarded by them as galvanometers, and galvanometers of an extremely sensible kind, on account of the very minute distance and tenuity of the nervous filaments."

We must also take the liberty of presenting our readers with an extract on the same subject, from the excellent treatise on electro-magnetism, by Dr. Roget, in the Library of Useful Knowledge:—

"It occurred to the author of this treatise, soon after hearing of Ampère's discovery of the attraction of electrical currents, that it might be possible to render the attraction between the successive and parallel turns of a heliacal coil very sensible, if the wires were sufficiently flexible and elastic; and with the assistance of Mr. Faraday, this conjecture was put to the test of experiment, in the Laboratory of the Royal Institution. A slender harpsichord-wire bent into a helix, being placed in the Voltaic circuit, instantly shortened itself whenever the electric stream was sent through it; but recovered its former dimensions the moment the current was intermitted. It was supposed that possibly some analogy may hereafter be found to exist between this phenomenon and the contraction of muscular fibres, which seems to be regulated by some properties of the nervous system not unlike those of electrical agency. Messrs. Prevost and Dumas have advanced a similar theory of muscular contractions, founded on a supposed distribution of nervous filaments, through which they imagine a current of electricity is sent, for the purpose of determining the action that precedes contraction. This theory, they conceive, is supported by microscopic observations; but it is far too hypothetical in its present form to deserve serious discussion."

The manner in which the movements of the muscles may be excited after death, by a proper application of galvanism, affords a plausible argument in favour of this theory. The most astonishing experiments of this kind, on record, are those made by Dr. Ure, at Glasgow, on the body of a murderer, after he had hung an hour at the gallows. An impressive account of these experiments will be found in the work under review; but we have not space to copy it in detail. In the first experiment with the galvanic fluid, every muscle of the body was agitated with convulsive movements. In the second, one of the legs was thrown out with such violence as nearly to overthrow one of the assistants. In the next experiment, full laborious breathing was established—the chest alternately heaving and falling. In another experiment, the muscles of the face were thrown into fearful action. "Rage, horror, despair, anguish, and ghastly smiles, united their hideous expression in the murderer's face, surpassing far the wildest expressions of a Fuseli or a Kean. At this period,

several of the spectators were forced to leave the room, from terror or sickness, and one gentleman fainted." In another experiment, the fingers moved rapidly like those of a performer on the violin, and an assistant who tried to close the hand, found it to open forcibly in spite of all his efforts. In the last trial, one of the conductors was applied to a slight incision in the tip of the forefinger, the fist being previously clenched, when this finger was instantly extended, and, from the convulsive movements of the arm, the murderer seemed to point to the different spectators, many of whom thought he had come to life.

In the remaining part of the article on muscular motion, the author treats of the attitudes—of walking, leaping, running, swimming, flying—of the voice, including Savart's recent and plausible theory of the vocal apparatus—of ventriloquism—of natural and artificial language—and of the gestures. All these are topics in which we meet with interesting points, to which we should be pleased to call the attention of our readers, but our limits remind us that we must hasten forward.

We pass therefore to the second great class of animal functions—the nutritive, the consideration of which is thus introduced by our author:—

"The human body, from the moment of its formation to the cessation of existence, is undergoing incessant decay and renovation—decomposition and composition: so that, at no two periods, can it be said to consist of exactly the same constituents. The class of functions, about to engage attention, embraces those that are concerned in effecting such changes. They are seven in number:—*digestion*, by which the food, received into the stomach, undergoes such conversion, as fits it for the separation of its nutritious and excrementitious portions: *absorption*, by which this nutritious portion, as well as other matters, is conveyed into the mass of blood: *respiration*, by which the products of absorption and the venous blood are converted into arterial blood: *circulation*, by which the vital fluid is distributed to every part of the system: *nutrition*, by which these intimate changes of composition and decomposition are accomplished: *calorification*, by which the system is enabled to resist the effects of greatly elevated or depressed atmospheric temperature, and to exist in the burning regions within the tropics, or amidst the arctic snows: *secretion*, by which various fluids and solids are separated from the blood; some to serve useful purposes in the animal-economy; others to be rejected from the body."

Of the various theories of stomachic digestion, our author adopts that which refers the conversion of the aliment into chyme to the chemical action of the gastric juice. The experiments by which Spallanzani undertook to establish this fact, have always appeared to us to be conclusive: and, if further proofs were necessary, it seems, from the last number of the American Journal of Medical Sciences, that they have been amply afforded in a case under the care of Dr. Beaumont, of the United States' army, and which was witnessed along with him, by Dr. Dunglison. In the subject to which we refer, a permanent fistulous opening into the stomach has been produced by a gunshot wound; and through this opening the food may be drawn in

every stage of its digestion, and the gastric liquor may be collected for experiments out of the body. The results of the investigations made in this case have not yet been communicated to the public, but they are said to give entire confirmation to the theory of Spallanzani. In particular, it is asserted that when food is introduced into the gastric secretion, out of the body, and kept at blood heat, it is converted into chyme as perfectly, and almost as rapidly, as in the stomach itself. We notice this subject here, because it has been very fashionable with physiologists to reject and even to ridicule all attempts to explain any of the animal functions upon mechanical or chemical principles, and to choose rather to refer them to occult causes, and particularly to one which they invoke on so many occasions under the name of *vitality*. Nothing can be more contrary to the true spirit of philosophical investigation. The faithful Mussulman thinks he gives a satisfactory explanation of all phenomena, when he says—such is the will of God. Doubtless his declaration is true: yet is he not the less involved in total ignorance of the laws of nature.

Although we have almost exhausted the space which can be properly devoted to this review, we have not yet entered upon the second volume of Dr. Dunglison's book. We shall be forced therefore to touch upon the remaining topics very lightly, though, to the professional reader at least, they are perhaps the most important in the work.

Under the head of "Absorption," there are several disputed points very satisfactorily discussed—such as the absorption of drinks, and venous and cutaneous absorption. With regard to the last subject, on which so many ingenious experiments have been performed in Philadelphia, by Drs. Klapp, Rousseau, S. B. Smith, and others, the author says:—

"From all the above facts—sufficiently discrepant it is true—we are justified in concluding, with Professor Chapman, that although the subject is not perhaps absolutely decided, enough has been done to demonstrate, that cuticular absorption rarely happens, and that whenever it does, it cannot be deemed the effort of a natural function."

It is impossible to read the able articles on respiration and circulation, without being struck with the number of embarrassing questions that still exist, with regard to functions which appear more entirely within our reach, and more intelligible, than any others in the animal system. We know for example, that the ventricles of the heart are strong hollow muscles, which, at every contraction, force a portion of blood into a system of continuous vessels, which, after making the circuit of the body, or of the lungs, terminate in the auricles. It would seem, then, as if the mechanism of the circulation of the blood was thoroughly established. But a closer inquiry presents us with great difficul-

ties. The arteries divide and ramify until they become mere capillary tubes, and the great amount of friction and resistance which the blood must meet with before it can traverse them, may be such as entirely to exhaust the original impulse. Accordingly, the pulsations of the heart are not perceived in these vessels, and some physiologists consider the capillary arteries to be themselves possessed of an independent propelling power. Bichat even attributes to this power the venous circulation—another subject of great difficulty. It is certain, that in many animals, the blood will continue to circulate in the smaller vessels, for some time after the heart has been removed from the body; and the circulation can be distinctly seen in others—such as the leech—which have no heart.

The cause of the action of the heart itself—an action which continues without ceasing, from the commencement of foetal existence till the extinction of life, is discussed in the work before us, but seems to be involved in obscurity. Some of the ancients were contented with referring it to an inherent pulsific virtue—a notion which our author pleasantly ridicules, by comparing it with an answer given by the *Malade Imaginaire*, at his examination:—

“ Mihi a docto doctore
Demandatur causam et rationem quare
Opium facit dormire.
A quoi respondeo,
Quia est in eo
Virtus dormitiva,
Cujus est natura
Sensus assoupire.”

The motions of the heart, though greatly affected by the passions, are, as every one knows, not under the direct influence of the will: yet a singular case is related, which would seem to present an exception to this general law of nature. We copy it, because we think it cannot fail to give interest.

The Hon. Colonel Townshend had for many years been afflicted with constant vomitings, which made his life painful. In his last illness, he was attended by Drs. Cheyne and Baynard, and by Mr. Skrine, his apothecary. One morning he sent for them all, and Dr. Cheyne gives the following account of their visit:—

“ We found his senses clear, and his mind calm; his nurse and several servants were about him. He had made his will and settled his affairs. He told us he had sent for us to give him some account of an odd sensation he had for some time observed and felt in himself, which was that, composing himself, he could *die or expire* when he pleased, and yet by an effort or somehow, he could come to life again; which it seems he had sometimes tried before he had sent for us. We heard this with surprise; but as it was not to be accounted for from tried common principles, we could hardly believe the fact as he related it, much less give any account of it; unless he should please to make the experiment before us, which we were unwilling he should do, lest in his weak condition he might carry it too far. He continued to talk very distinctly and sensibly above a quar-

ter of an hour about this (to him) surprising sensation, and insisted so much on our seeing the trial made, that we were at last forced to comply. We all three felt his pulse first; it was distinct, though small and thready; and his heart had its usual beating. He composed himself on his back, and lay in a still posture some time. While I held his right hand, Dr. B. laid his hand on his heart, and Mr. S. held a clean looking-glass to his mouth. I found his pulse sink gradually, till at last I could not feel any, by the most exact and nice touch. Dr. Baynard could not feel the least motion in his heart, nor Mr. Skrine the least soil of breath on the bright mirror he held to his mouth. Then each of us, by turn, examined his arm, heart and breath, but could not by the nicest scrutiny discover the least symptom of life in him. We reasoned a long time about this odd appearance as well as we could; and all of us judging it inexplicable and unaccountable; and finding he still continued in that condition, we began to conclude indeed that he had carried the experiment too far, and at last were satisfied that he was actually dead, and were just ready to leave him. This continued about half an hour, by nine o'clock in the morning, in autumn. As we were going away, we observed some motion about the body, and upon examination found his pulse and the motion of his heart gradually returning; he began to breathe gently, and speak softly; we were all astonished, to the last degree, at this unexpected change, and after some further conversation with him, and among ourselves, went away fully satisfied as to all the particulars of this fact, but confounded and puzzled, and not able to form any rational scheme, that might account for it. He afterwards called for his attorney, added a codicil to his will, settled legacies on his servants, received the sacrament, and calmly and composedly expired about five or six o'clock that evening."

The chemical discoveries of Black and Lavoisier were thought to have gained a great triumph in the explanation which they afforded of the production of animal heat. The oxygen of the air was believed to unite in the lungs, with the carbon of the blood, thus giving rise to a kind of slow combustion, by which heat is liberated. The theory seemed to be quite satisfactory: but unhappily it has been brought into doubt at least, if not into discredit, by a close and impartial investigation. Of the objections to it which our author advances, we will confine ourselves to the following.—First: if the heat were generated exclusively in the lungs, we should certainly expect it to be much greater there than in the other parts of the body: but this is not the case. Secondly: in local inflammations, the part affected is often hotter by several degrees, than the blood in the large vessels. Thirdly: experiments made by Brodie and Chossat have shown, that, when the spinal marrow is divided, so as to cut off the communication between the brain and the general system, if respiration be kept up artificially, the action of the heart will continue, the change of the blood from the venous to the arterial state will be produced, oxygen will be absorbed, and carbonic acid be exhaled as usual—but the evolution of animal heat will be arrested, and the animal will grow cold as rapidly as if respiration had entirely ceased. It is stated, however, that these experiments have been repeated by Dr. Wilson Philip and others, with different results, by merely diminishing the quantity of air introduced into the lungs in the artificial respiration. After a review of the different theories of calorification, our

author gives the preference to that which supposes the disengagement of heat to occur in the capillary system over the whole body, though he acknowledges that we are in complete ignorance as to the mode in which it is evolved.

On the subject of the "Secretions," however interesting, we shall not venture to enter: but we cannot avoid calling the attention of our readers to a fact which is certainly one of the most singular in the animal economy. It is, that among the viscera there is one of considerable size, respecting the use of which we are not only entirely ignorant, but of which we could find strong reasons to doubt whether it was of any use whatever, could we dare to call in question the sound maxim that nature has done nothing in vain. We allude to the spleen, a viscus which occupies the abdomen, with the liver, pancreas, kidneys, &c. and which has the appearance of a gland, but is without an excretory duct. This organ has been frequently extirpated, without any apparent consequences to the system. Dr. Dunglison relates three authentic cases, in which the patients entirely recovered, and enjoyed afterwards perfect health. On animals, the operation has been frequently performed. Dupuytren, a fell destroyer of the canine race, extirpated the spleens of forty dogs on the same day, with the following results:—

"In the first eight days, half the dogs operated on, died of inflammation of the abdominal viscera induced by the operation, as was proved by dissection. The other twenty got well without any accident at the end of three weeks at the furthest. At first they manifested a voracious appetite, but it soon resumed its natural standard. They fed on the same aliment, the same drinks, took the same quantity of food, and digestion seemed to be accomplished in the same time. The fæces had the same consistence, the same appearance, and the chyle appeared to have the same character. Nor did the other functions offer any modification. Dupuytren opened several of these dogs some time afterwards, and found no apparent change in the abdominal circulation—in that of the stomach, epiploon, or liver. The last organ, which appeared to some of the experimenters to be enlarged, did not seem to him to be at all so. The bile alone appeared a little thicker, and deposited a slight sediment."

Dr. Dunglison next enters upon the third great division of his work, which treats of those mysterious functions on which depend what Bichat has so aptly called the "life of the species." There is no part of physiology which is more calculated to excite curiosity than this: but for its gratification, we must refer our readers to the work itself, as the subject is one on which we cannot with propriety dwell in an unprofessional review.

In the remainder of the work, many topics of general interest are discussed, which cannot be ranged under either of the three great classes of functions already treated, and which may therefore be considered as in some degree miscellaneous; such are the ages, sleep, sympathy, the temperaments, natural and acquired differences, life and death.

Under the head of sleep, Dr. Dunglison takes occasion to give

an account of the hallucinations, illusions, or waking dreams, by which the mind is sometimes so singularly affected, while, in other respects, entirely free from derangement. Many curious instances are given, but it is unnecessary for us to copy any of them here, because the subject has been made familiar to all readers, by Scott's interesting work on Demonology.

With regard to these illusions, Scott says:—

“He thinks there can be little doubt of the proposition, that the external organs may, from various causes, become so much deranged as to make false representations to the mind; and that, in such cases, men, in the literal sense, really *see* the empty and false forms, and *hear* the ideal sounds, which in a more primitive state of society, are naturally enough referred to the action of demons or disembodied spirits. In such unhappy cases, the patient is intellectually in the condition of a general, whose spies have been bribed by the enemy, and who must engage himself in the difficult and delicate task of examining and correcting, by his own powers of argument, the probability of the reports, which are too inconsistent to be trusted to.”

“Another theory of these spectral illusions is, that, in all the organs of sense, the mind possesses the power of retransmitting, through the nervous filaments to the expansion of the nerves that are acted upon by external objects, impressions which these nerves have previously transmitted to the brain, and that the vividness of the retransmissions is proportional to the frequency with which the impressions have been previously transmitted; that these reproduced impressions are in general feeble in the healthy state of the body, though perfectly adapted to the purposes for which they are required; but in other states of the body, they appear with such brilliancy as to create even a belief in the external existence of those objects from which the impressions were originally derived.”

Dr. Dunglison controverts both these opinions. He says, “the illusion cannot depend upon any depraved condition of the organ of sense, because, in that case, the representation in the mind would be amorphous, irregular, or confused,” whereas it is often as distinctly defined as if really present. He objects to these theories, too, as wholly unnecessary. The true seat of perception is in the brain, not in the external sense. For the appearance of spectral illusions, it is enough, then, that the cerebral part of the sense be affected, and this may occur without any external impression being produced.

“Another fact, which shows that the whole phenomenon may be entirely encephalic, is the occurrence familiar to the operative surgeon, of a patient, whose lower limb has been amputated, complaining of an uneasy sensation, as of itching, in a particular toe, and in a particular part of a toe. This is at times a symptom of an extremely distressing character. It is obviously impossible, that, in this case, there can be any external impression made on the part to which the feeling is referred; or that any retransmission can occur from the brain; the limb having been removed from the body. Broussais asserts, that if a person tells you he suffers in a limb which he no longer has, it is because he experiences irritation in the extremities of the divided nerve, but this, in no respect, removes the difficulty. The sensation is referred to a part, which has no existence except in the imagination.”

The subject of the varieties existing in the human race proves as embarrassing to our author as it has to all others by whom it has been treated. He subscribes to the Bible history, and be-

lieves that the earth has been peopled by the family of Noah; and of course he rejects the inhuman theory which would divide the family of mankind into distinct *species*. Yet to account for the origin of the marked differences that exist, particularly between the Caucasian and the Ethiopian varieties, is a problem to which he can find no satisfactory solution, though several hypotheses are considered. We are glad, however, to see, that he is willing to acknowledge his ignorance, rather than fly for relief to the desperate doctrine of an original specific difference in the races. There is no species of domestic animal which does not present us with greater varieties in form, colour, size, and general appearance, than are to be met with in the human family; yet naturalists do not pretend that these varieties are the marks of distinct species. Why then should we consider them such, when the natural tendency of the opinion would be to perpetuate prejudice and justify oppression?

Dr. Dunghlison follows the mass of physiologists, in adopting the doctrine of a vital force or principle, possessed by organized matter "in addition to its general physical and chemical properties." This mysterious agent is made to play a most important and diversified part in the living frame. In one case, it resists putrefaction and chemical solution. In another, it gives sensibility, and the property of contracting on the application of stimulants. Now, it is employed, under the name of *instinct*, in renewing parts that have been lost, in healing wounds, and even in forming the foetus in utero. Again, still under the name of instinct, though its office be entirely different—it directs the infant in its search for food, and the bee in the construction of the honey-comb. Our author gives a view of the notions entertained by different physiologists respecting the nature of this vital power; but the whole subject is involved in obscurity. Even the existence of an independent vital principle may be questioned, and life be considered as nothing more than the assemblage of functions and phenomena exhibited in living beings.

The last topic considered by our author is death, which may be either accidental, or from natural decay in old age.

"The great characteristic of the latter kind of death, as pointed out by Bichat, is that the animal life terminates long before organic life. Death takes place in detail;—the animal functions, which connect the aged with the objects around him being annihilated, long before those that are concerned in his nutrition. Death, in other words, takes place from the circumference towards the centre, whilst, in accidental or premature death, the annihilation of the functions begins in the centre and extends to the circumference."

As to the natural period of life, the following facts will be found interesting:

"Blumenbach asserts, that by an accurate examination of numerous bills of mortality, he has ascertained the fact, that a considerable proportion of Europeans reach their 84th year, but that few exceed it; whilst, according to Fo-

deré, in the insalubrious region of Brenne, in France, nature begins to retrograde, at from 20 to 30; and 50 years is the usual term of existence.

"Haller noted one thousand cases of centenarians; sixty-two of from 110 to 120 years; twenty-nine of from 120 to 130; and fifteen who had attained from 130 to 140 years. Beyond this advanced age, examples of longevity are much more rare and less sufficiently attested; yet we have some well authenticated cases of the kind. Thomas Parr was born in 1635; married when at the age of 120; retained his vigour till 140; and died at the age of 152, from plethora—it was supposed—induced by change of diet. Harvey dissected him and found no appearance of decay in any organ. Henry Jenkins, who died in Yorkshire, in 1670, is an authentic instance of the greatest longevity on record. He lived 169 years."

In concluding this review, it can hardly be necessary for us to say, that we are highly pleased with the manner in which Dr. Dunglison has performed his arduous task. The volumes which he has given us contain a great mass of knowledge, indispensable to the physician, and interesting to all. We are confident that they will have an extensive circulation, and that they will enable many a one to obey, in a literal sense, the heaven descended injunction, *KNOW THYSELF*. We may hope, too, that the study will not always end here, but that the mind may be led from the wonderful "piece of work, Man," to the contemplation of the wisdom that could contrive, and the power that could execute it.

Dr. Dunglison's style is that of a practised writer; free, as the language of a scientific work ought to be, from pretension, or at least, from false pretension; but correct, flowing, and attractive. We are glad to see, that, while gallicisms and neologisms are so much the mode with many members of his profession, he has been contented to use plain English. He always succeeds in making himself understood; and he has shown that he possesses the happy art of giving interest to every subject that he treats.

In a science in which many subjects are very obscure—which has often to treat of changes effected by invisible agents upon invisible molecules—it is impossible that discordant hypotheses should not sometimes present themselves, under the authority of great names, and supported by plausible reasons and experiments. In such cases, the author of a general treatise holds the situation of a judge, and is called upon to exercise wisdom and impartiality. We are well satisfied with the manner in which Dr. Dunglison has performed this part of his duty. In discussing the theories of physiology, he has avoided two extremes which are perhaps equally injurious—scepticism and credulity. Where good evidence is presented in favour of an opinion, he has not hesitated to adopt it, because cavillers might still raise objections; yet his judgment is always characterized by great caution. He is not led away by the dangerous ambition of founding new systems of his own, nor is he willing to subscribe to the systems of others, because they may happen to be the fashion of the day.

In every page of his work we see that he is a sincere inquirer after truth; and, as he possesses a thorough acquaintance with his subject, and a sound discriminating judgment, the student can seldom be led wrong if he follow the guidance of such a master.

ART. VI.—*The Life of Sir Humphrey Davy, Bart.* By JOHN AYRTON PARIS, M. D. London: 1831.

It is still undecided how much of our future character and fortunes depends on early education and early association. He who is born by the ocean, and has rambled over the craggs and cliffs of an iron-bound coast; accustomed to the storm, and conflict of the waters, is more likely to enter on rash and daring hazards in life, than one cradled in ease. He who is born near the depths of the forest—amid the tumult of a city—in tranquil seclusion—or the beautiful scenery of a richly cultivated district—is liable to bear their impressions through the events of his career, even if this is not determined by them. We all feel that our youth influences all our fate, and whether to good or evil, what we call destiny, is the mere result of some distant and forgotten circumstance. Our future life becomes but the record of early days; the book we have read—an individual with whom we have conversed—some passing object or transient incident, though illegible to the memory, is visible in lasting effects. They have given direction to the mind; and at the age when the struggle between the intellect and the passions commences—and, as is probable, the latter assumes the ascendancy—a single one of these apparent trifles, develops a useful, glorious, or degraded course. It is at this time, the future places itself in relief before us; hopes begin to mingle in our reflections, and a vague ambition rises amid the tumult and confusion of thought. We have before lived only with the present; and in the enjoyment of immediate sensation and temporary excitement, neglected the past.

Through the years, and amid the impulses of animal life, the spring and vivacity of our youth, we look but little forward and still less behind us. It is not till misfortune, misery, and regret, shade and sadden our views, that we go back to old affections, and seek the happiness that seems denied to us now—and in what is to come, by renewing old associations. The passing moment either is not or cannot be so used, as to give pleasure to the future; yet, being the only one in our power, the design should ever be, to make it add to the amount of happiness we wish to create. But things we cannot control—external agents

and actions, that reach us when unguarded, and which will cannot reverse, or energy retrieve, render that impossible. We then seem but the children of fate, bound by some decree to effect certain ends—impelled by some superior power, for its purposes, and unable to exert a free agency. But this sense of being acted on by an irresistible force, that great men have sometimes wished the world to think governed them, though they felt their own powers, produced the desired results, and which inferior men hoped, the world might really think to be their guiding star, is no more than the consequence of accident, a peculiar aptness, giving strength to the disposition and bent of the mind. It is not meant to be asserted that there is no such thing as genius; but the character and direction it assumes, depend on circumstances. There are philosophers who consider the intellectual tendency not to be innate, a gift of nature, but the result of some casual and transient occurrence. The contrary of this cannot be proved, as all distinguished for some particular faculty, have forgotten the incident that first developed it, if there ever was such, and merely remember the love which engaged their minds in a pursuit, and the bias that they found impossible to subdue. Marlborough began life as a courtier—Cæsar as a profligate—Bonaparte as a mathematician—Newton loved mechanics—Bacon philosophy. The first could probably have never been poet or philosopher; the second possessed sufficient genius to excel in whatever he willed; the third, might have been celebrated in studies, requiring close reasoning and nice deduction; the last, neither soldiers nor poets, though both had the mental power to guide the councils of nations; and with their expanse of intellect and large conceptions, all the materials of poetical expression. The minds of these men were general—their powers, not confined within the narrow limits of a peculiar bent, but capable of vast comprehensions, and of gaining distinction, if not greatness, in any department of knowledge. How different would have been the fate of empires and of science, if Churchill had not left the court—Cæsar not deserted the forum—if Bonaparte had lectured on natural philosophy, and the others still greater than these, been driven to commerce or the cloister! Thus it was their fortune and the spirit of the times, that gave direction to the minds and elicited the efforts of these men; not an accident which created their genius. This is a natural endowment, a part of our being; though certain faculties may lie dormant, because not wanted, yet, like pearls beneath the sea, they exist in all perfection and beauty; and when fortune grants the opportunity, burst forth freely and vigorously.

There are only two classes of men who seem destined to but one thing—poets and musicians. They are the creations of nature, and impelled by a natural impulse. Every great poet has

made his first attempt, before ambition or the love of reputation or power, or the desire of success or hope of immortality, could have roused him to exertion. Tasso began at nine—Pope at twelve, and Mozart was a phenomenon at five years of age. It was an irresistible impulse, (as Milton says in speaking of himself,) “an impelling faculty, for which he could not account,” that led them to their art; and it is more rational to suppose, they were endowed by nature with a peculiar faculty, than that any exciting cause created it.

Education is the parent of character; and it even seems sometimes to reverse the decree, which appeared to have designed us for certain objects, and turn the mind to pursuits, towards which it is not by nature inclined. But it cannot create, it only improves faculties that are imperfect or enfeebled by neglect. All are not fitted for contemplation, nor all for action; yet there are men of such versatility as to bear any change circumstances impose, and wear gracefully the mantle fortune or necessity casts on them. They may gain great distinction, and beneath the spur of ambition and energetic effort, reach the point to which they aspire. But their ascent is not rapid; hope is delayed by conflicting wishes, and the mind distracted by the desire to pursue the object to which the disposition leans, not that to which they are compelled. Bacon was seduced by the desire of consideration and credit with the world, to desert philosophy for politics and law. It was a mean compliance to the love of temporary fame; but the greatness of his name with posterity, is in no way increased by this preference of an ephemeral substitute of immortality, to the grander results he might have produced. Men often mistake the suggestions of indolence, or the love of variety, for a passion, and a taste for a decided predilection; but difficulties undeceive them as to the extent of their ability. Where, however, there is a powerful and peculiar genius, it cannot be restrained. It is a vehement force the mind cannot resist, and which ensures success by the enthusiasm that ever accompanies strong passions.

We have been prompted to these remarks by the life of one of the extraordinary men of the age—one whom we would place by the side of the first, and under the influence of admiration, near, if not on an equality with the greatest philosophers of any time. His intellectual qualities were of the highest order—strong imagination—rapid and profound observation—a clear and remarkable reasoning faculty—unerring sagacity—almost intuitive perspicacity, and a nice discrimination that never confounded analogous ideas, or their relations, or failed in detecting their differences. Sir Humphrey Davy was born at Penzance, in Cornwall, the 17th of December, 1778. The history of his boyhood, like that of most eminent men, indicates peculiarities which show decided character, those elements of dis-

tion, that require but an ordinary share of fortune to make their way to fame.

"He was first placed at a preparatory seminary, kept by a Mr. Bushell, who was so struck with the progress he made, that he urged his father to remove him to a superior school. It is a fact worthy of being recorded, that he would at the age of about five years, turn over the pages of a book as rapidly as if he were counting the leaves, or hunting after pictures; and yet on being questioned he could generally give a very satisfactory account of the contents. I have been informed by Lady Davy, that the same faculty was retained by him through life. Her children have also communicated to me an anecdote, which may be related in illustration of the same quality. Shortly after Dr. Murray published his system of chemistry, Davy accompanied her children to Tunbridge, and the new work was placed in the carriage. During the occasional intervals in which their conversation was suspended, Davy was seen turning over the leaves of the book, but his companion did not believe it possible that he could have made himself acquainted with any part of its contents, until at the close of the journey he surprised him with a critical opinion of its merits."

Similar anecdotes may be related of most men of active minds, who are fonder of their own thoughts than those of other men, and being intimate with a subject, are able to catch the whole force of an author's arguments or sentiments, by a glance at his train of thought. The two following extracts, show how early the intellectual character receives its impressions and begins to develop itself.

"The book that engaged his earliest attention, was the Pilgrim's Progress, a production well calculated from the exuberance of its invention, and the rich colouring of its fancy, for seizing upon the ardent admiration of youth."

"Shortly afterwards he commenced reading history, particularly that of England; and at the age of eight years, he would, as if impressed with the powers of oratory, collect together a number of boys in a circle, and mounting a cart or carriage, harangue them on different subjects, and offer such comments as his own ideas might suggest."

To the reading the Pilgrim's Progress, he was probably indebted for his admiration of nature, and the sublimity of his conceptions, as was afterwards shown in some of his last works; and his rapid arrangement of his thoughts, with their eloquent display, may be traced to this precocity in lecturing. He was fond of the marvellous, and composed stories of romance and chivalry; he wrote verses and ballads, and prepared a detonating compound, that he called *thunder powder*; he had a strong passion for experiment, which he evinced by "scooping out a turnip and placing a lighted candle in the cavity, by the aid of which he would melt fragments of tin." All this marks an active restless mind, originating its own plans, and interested in its creations. His school days show no remarkable advancement. He gained as much, probably, as most boys who possess quick and apt talents, but hate the drudgery and confinement of school exercises and hours. His master could discover none of those faculties for which he was afterwards so distinguished; but merely a taste for poetry, and very few masters have the genius to per-

ceive a boy's capacity. The celebrated Dr. Busby seems the only pedagogue on record, who was born for his situation, and who could elicit latent talent by a judicious application of the "virga," for where a youth has neither emulation nor ambition, much may be effected, by touching the sympathy between the intellectual and corporeal functions. We are inclined to think more young persons are injured or ruined by the stupidity of the instructor, his ignorance of their characters, their sensibility and sensitiveness, than by deficiency of education or moral culture.

Davy's opinion of his own education, is contained in a letter to a friend. "After all, the way in which we are taught Latin and Greek, does not much influence the important structure of our minds. I consider it fortunate that I was left much to myself as a child, and put upon no particular plan of study, and that I enjoyed much idleness at school. I perhaps owe to these circumstances the little talents I have, and their peculiar application; what I am I have made myself. I say this without vanity and in pure simplicity of heart."

At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed to a surgeon and apothecary in his native town; and it appears, that before this, he had been engaged in philosophical investigations, and pursuing, according to his inclination, the studies most to his taste. There seems no individual circumstance that first interested him in chemistry, unless a desire to discover pigments may have been its foundation, which Dr. Paris disclaims. It is probable that it was suggested by its connexion with other departments of natural science, and not brought out by any single event. The scenery around him, made a deep impression. The coast of that part of England is rocky and bold, and calculated to excite an admiration of nature—by the grandeur of the forms the masses assume—by the expanse of the sea—the terrors of the storm—and all the influences to which such views subject the imagination. It was his amusement and occupation to ramble by the ocean in search of minerals; and, on these excursions, to treasure every object, and transfer it to some poetical effusion; and his verses, which are very fine for his age—superior to Byron's—are filled with the concentrated effects of his excited feelings. His mind was roused to the contemplation of great things. Philosophy had already opened a vein of thought, that led him to anticipate the possession of scientific reputation in the aspiration for fame.

At the age of twelve he had finished an epic—"the Tydiad"—celebrating the adventures of Diomedes, on his return from the Trojan war. Yet with all the inspirations of the muse, and his capacity for executing her wishes, he adhered to science; and Dr. Paris asks, "where is the modern Esau who would

exchange his Bakerian lecture for a poem, though it should equal in design and execution the *Paradise Lost*." Such a question in this mechanical age, is somewhat startling; but whatever may be the opinion of the Newcastle colliers—the hardware-men of Birmingham, or of any set of partisans for the arts, we would declare for the second *Paradise Lost*: and would have worshipped Sir Humphrey then, ten-fold beyond our present admiration, and honoured England and the age, far above the debt now due. In that question, we have the type of the times—an overweening love for the useful, and an excess of humbug in expressing it:—

"As far as can be ascertained, one of the first original experiments in chemistry performed by him at Penzance, was for the purpose of discovering the quality of the air contained in the bladders of sea weed, in order to obtain results in support of a favourite theory of light: and to ascertain whether, as land vegetables are the renovators of the atmosphere of land animals, sea vegetables might not be the preservers of the equilibrium of the atmosphere of the ocean. From these experiments, he concluded that the different orders of the marine 'cryptogamia' were capable of decomposing water, when assisted by the attraction of light for oxygen."

In this extract, we have a strong example of the strength of his ambition; for the impulse, as well as the conception, must have been powerful, to suggest to him, in a remote part of England, and where books were not easily had, so difficult and intricate a subject as light. But it is generally the case, that youth is more attracted by the sublimity of an object, than deterred by its difficulties.

Ignorance makes every thing seem easy: it is not till warned by failures, that we learn modesty. When the passions are strong, our aspirations and our imagination are beyond the judgment, and our attempts exceed the execution. Time multiplies difficulties, in increasing the strength of mind and quantity of ideas; for the longer a subject is considered, the more it expands, till the fancy is subdued in the extent and variety of its relations. We theorise, when young, and find it very simple to account for phenomena, either in man or nature; but as age advances, we sink to facts, discovering that we have only rolled over the surface of things; that the further common sense has been transcended, the further from truth; and if we offered a definition of what is vulgarly called genius, it would be equal proportions of common sense and imagination—the one carrying the powers to extremes, and giving them a field for exertion—the other restraining their inordinate exercise, and reflecting its absurdity. It is this arrangement of our faculties, that is the foundation of poetry. Shakspeare, in the midst of the most violent hyperbole, when we are carried beyond the heavens, drops something to let us know we are of the earth; while many moderns make their own world, and move in it to their own admiration, but the mystification of inferiors.

Davy was not of a class to form a theory, or be carried away by its beauties, without the attestation of experiment to its value, and his theory of light was subjected to all the tests within his power:—

“His instruments, however, were of the rudest description, manufactured by himself out of the motley materials which chance threw in his way; the pots and pans of the kitchen, and even the more sacred vessels, and professional instruments of the surgery, were, without the least hesitation or remorse, put in requisition.”

With great address and ingenuity, he turned the glyster apparatus, which he found in a case of instruments, given him by a shipwrecked French surgeon, into a pneumatic apparatus: and “it afterwards performed the duties of an air-pump, in an original experiment on the nature and sources of heat.”

“Nor can we pass over these circumstances, without observing how materially they must have influenced the subsequent success of Davy as an experimentalist. Had he at the commencement of his career, been furnished with all those appliances which he enjoyed at a later period, it is more than probable that he might never have acquired that wonderful tact of manipulation—that ability of suggesting expedients, and of contriving apparatus so as to meet and surmount the difficulties which must ever beset the philosopher in the beaten tracks of science.

“It would however appear, that imperfect as must have been his apparatus, and limited as were his resources, his ambition very early led him to the investigation of the most abstruse and recondite phenomena. He was not more than seventeen, when he formed a strong opinion adverse to the general belief in the existence of caloric, or the materiality of heat.

“Having procured a piece of clock-work, so contrived as to be set to work in an exhausted receiver, he added two horizontal plates of brass: the upper one carrying a small metallic cup—to be filled with ice, revolved in contact with the lower one. The whole machine resting on a plate of ice, was covered by a glass receiver, and the air was exhausted by the very syringe, ingeniously modified for the purpose, with which the reader has already been made acquainted: for as yet he had no air-pump, and, what is still more worthy of notice, had never even seen one! The machine was now set in motion, when the ice in the small cup was soon observed to melt: whence he inferred that this effect could alone proceed from vibratory motion, since the whole apparatus was insulated from all accession of material heat, by the frozen mass below, and by the vacuum around it.”

This experiment was imperfect, as it is now understood that no machine can create a perfect vacuum: and that a sufficient quantity of so subtle a matter as caloric, can enter the best devised apparatus, to disappoint the efforts of the ablest experimenter.

Davy's future fate was now soon to be determined; and as we are inclined to refer to chance a large part of men's history and character, it is only at this point a speculation can be offered, as to what he might have been, if the event to be mentioned, had not occurred. Whether he would have been a poet, metaphysician, chemist, or physician, and distinguished in their respective sciences, may be easily decided, as he possessed all the powers and elements of success. But an introduction to Mr. Davies Gilbert,

late President of the Royal Society, destroys the necessity of adventuring much fancy as to the extent of his reputation, in any department but chemistry:—

“Mr. Gilbert’s attention was attracted to the future philosopher, as he was carelessly swinging on a gate, by the humorous contortions into which he threw his face. Davy, it may be remarked, when a boy, possessed a countenance which, even in its natural state, was very far from comely: while his round shoulders, inharmonious voice, and insignificant manner, were calculated to produce any thing rather than a favourable impression. A person who happened to be walking with Mr. Gilbert, upon the occasion alluded to, observed that the extraordinary looking boy was young Davy, the carver’s son, who, he added, was fond of making chemical experiments.”

Mr. Gilbert, it seems, very luckily for Davy, “possesses a strong perception of character; and he soon, therefore, discovered ample evidence of the boy’s singular genius.” With great liberality, he offered assistance in his studies, and the use of his library, and took him to the house of a friend, “who possessed a well appointed laboratory.” The tumultuous delight which Davy expressed, on seeing, for the first time, a quantity of chemical apparatus, hitherto only known to him, through the medium of engravings, is described by Mr. Gilbert as surpassing all description. The air-pump more especially fixed his attention; he worked its piston—exhausted the receiver, and opened its valves, with the simplicity and joy of a child engaged in the examination of a new and favourite toy:—

“He soon afterwards became acquainted with the celebrated Gregory Watt; and by a singular perversion from the disposition the last extract would imply, addressed him on metaphysics and poetry. This was not the way to Mr. Watt’s heart. It was by mere accident an allusion was made to chemistry, when Davy flippantly observed, that he would undertake to demolish the French theory in half an hour: he had touched the chord—the interest of Mr. Watt was excited—he conversed with Davy on his chemical pursuits: he was at once astonished and delighted at his sagacity—the barrier of ice was removed, and they became attached friends.”

Shortly after this, Davy left Penzance for Bristol, to be the assistant of Dr. Beddoes, in his pneumatic institution—an establishment for the purpose of trying the value of factitious gases in medicine; and it appears, that even in that commercial place, his talents excited astonishment and admiration:—

“His simplicity of mind and manner, was also at this time truly delightful. He scarcely knew the names of our best authors, and had much less read any of their works; and yet upon topics of moral philosophy and metaphysics, he would enter into discussion with acknowledged scholars, and not only delight them with the native energy of his mind, but instruct them by the novelty and truth of his conceptions. Mr. Coleridge lately expressed to me the astonishment he felt, very shortly after his introduction to him, on hearing him maintain an argument upon some abstruse subject, with a gentleman equally distinguished for the extent of his erudition, and for the talent of rendering it available for illustration, the contrast was more striking; it was the fresh and native wild flower, opposed to the elaborate exotic of the hortus siccus.”

In 1799, Dr. Beddoes published a work, the larger portion of which consisted of Davy's contributions. They were entitled "Essays on Heat, Light and the Combinations of Light;" and were full of all the wild imaginings belonging to a mind so ardent and inexperienced. Science had not yet tempered his poetical feelings, nor knowledge withered the gay sportiveness and subdued the glow of a spirit teeming with creative fancies. He supposed light to be the all pervading power of the universe; that caloric was one of its forms, opposing the French doctrine, that heat was a distinct fluid, and that electricity was only light in a condensed state. Thus he settled its necessity and its functions, in the material world. But there were phenomena in men and animals, that admitted of his doctrine extending to them; and the action of the nerves was made to depend on light, liberated in the form of electricity in the brain, exciting sensation and thought. By this theory, he destroyed the necessity of an immaterial principle, and turned man, with all the phenomena of life and death, into a chemical compound, entering by their various changes into new combinations, and carrying on the designs of the Creator by a system of attractions and repulsions.

Davy regretted this dream; and the blame of its publication should be allowed to fall on Dr. Beddoes, the author being only eighteen. The doctor it seems was as imaginative as his pupil, and fond of drawing vague general propositions from very equivocal data; and such ideas as Davy's must have raised the latter in his opinion to the first order of genius. Like most men deficient in the reasoning faculty, and superficial in their acquirements, he leaped suddenly to conclusions. An amusing instance is given of this part of his intellectual structure, and of the ease with which such persons are exposed to deception. A patient, with paralysis, was brought to Dr. Beddoes, who was then strongly affected by the singular properties of the nitrous oxide, and excited by the hope of its immense utility in medicine. Some portion of his enthusiasm was imparted to the palsied patient, and when the thermometer was placed under his tongue by Davy, to ascertain the degree of animal heat, he conceived the operation of the antidote for his disease was commencing, and "immediately declared that he felt the effects of its benign influence throughout his whole body. The opportunity was too tempting to be lost. Davy cast an intelligent glance at Mr. Coleridge, (by whom the anecdote is communicated) and desired the patient to renew his visit on the following day, when the same ceremony was again performed, and repeated every succeeding day for a fortnight, when he was dismissed as cured, no other application having been used than the thermometer." Beddoes proposed that the wonderful discovery should be given to the world; when Davy, to the misfortune of moral philoso-

phy, and to the injury of quacks, undeceived him, as to the mode of cure. Davy afterwards tried the effect of the nitrous oxide on himself, in a state of intoxication, or rather after recovering from a state of insensibility, into which a bottle of wine had thrown him, and found that the headach, and other unpleasant "*reliquiæ*" of drunkenness, were entirely removed. Whether the same effect would be produced on an habitual sot, is deserving of a trial; what is now the mere gratification of animal instinct, might be turned to the uses of philosophy. But the daring young experimenter nearly lost his life in these researches on the nature of gases. He inhaled nitrous gas, and on opening the mouth to free himself from the sense of suffocation, the common air formed nitrous acid, "which burnt the tongue and palate, injured the teeth, and produced an inflammation of the mucous membrane, that lasted for some hours." The rashest of his attempts was the breathing "carburetted hydrogen," and the detail of the sensations, in his own words is frightful; but he was not deterred from trying "carbonic acid," which, however, declined entering his lungs, till mixed with common air, and the effects were giddiness and an inclination to sleep. A very interesting account of the death of the younger Berthollet, from this gas, is related in a French journal of science. He was tired of life, and determined to die scientifically. Every opening in the room was closed, and he sat at his desk, putting down his feelings, while the approach of death was traced by the gradual indistinctness of the writing. The Grotto del Cane has amused travellers for years, with its effect on animals, from this air, and Addison tried experiments that led him to the philosophical conclusion, that whatever it might be which produced these curious results, it was of a gluey or viscous nature.

About this time, Davy made experiments on galvanism, and discovered it to be a process purely chemical, "depending wholly on the oxidation of metallic surfaces, having different degrees of electric conducting power." These researches, in a more extended form, were afterwards presented to the Royal Society, and may be considered as the foundation of discoveries, on which the structure of his fame rests.

Fortune now opened to him a wider sphere, to which he was entitled by the commanding energy of his efforts, and the successful cultivation of his talents. The small volume "of Researches" attracted the attention of the scientific world, and the coincidence of his views on the non-existence of caloric (as a distinct principle,) with those of Count Rumford, recommended him to this philosopher, who had just then established the Royal Institution.

In 1801, Davy began his career in London, and shortly be-

came a popular favourite, and the degree of enthusiasm is given in a letter to the author of the life, by a friend.

"Men of the first rank and talent—the literary and the scientific—the practical and theoretical—blue stockings—and women of fashion—the old and young, all crowded to the lecture room. 'His youth—his simplicity—natural eloquence—chemical knowledge—his happy illustrations and well conducted experiments, excited universal attention and unbounded applause. Compliments, invitations, and presents, were showered upon him in abundance from all quarters; his society was courted by all, and all appeared proud of his acquaintance.' The young Cornishman became the fashion, and received all the incense, the rivalry of London fashionable life could offer. But adulation soon destroyed his simplicity, and his uncouth manners and awkward address, changed to an affected insolence and assumption—to a mean aping, and still meaner admiration of the English aristocracy. The man of chemistry turned beau—attended soirées, deserted tests, retorts, and crucibles, and the machinery of scientific abstraction, for balls, routes and dinners. Every great man has some weakness, and that of Davy was an overweening and most unphilosophical regard for a titled order—the imposing importance of birth, lineage, and hereditary distinction. The element of genius is solitude; it moves more grandly amid its own speculations—the silent array of its own thoughts—the world of its creations, than within the sphere, and gross contact of general intercourse; and Davy must have felt, however flattered by this sudden elevation, that homage was paid to the accident of popularity, not to his intellect. He possessed the finest gift for a popular lecturer—a brilliant imagination, without which the most profound acquirements and greater ability, are of little use. More attend to be interested and amused with the novelty, striking views, and eloquent language, than informed on the deeper parts of a subject. The senses must be attracted, or the mind will not act, and a languid lecturer, is a strong excuse for the drowsiness, listless inattention, and ignorance of his auditors. Davy had all the qualities that could be required for addressing a body of the superficially scientific, as well as those who exacted a thorough knowledge, and were disposed to examine the extent of his powers. His style must have been highly poetical, and capable of gratifying the most intelligent, as is conveyed in a remark of Coleridge's, 'that he attended Davy's lectures to increase his stock of metaphors.'"

Dr. Paris gives in Davy's manner of performing experiments, an illustration of the nature of his mind.

"It is, perhaps, not possible to imagine a greater contrast, than between the elegant manner in which Davy conducted his experiments in the theatre, and the apparently careless and slovenly style of his manipulations in the laboratory. It was his habit to carry on several unconnected experiments at the same time; and he would pass from the one to the other without any obvious design or order; upon these occasions he was perfectly reckless of his apparatus, breaking a part to meet some want of the moment. So rapid were all his movements, that while a spectator imagined he was merely making preparations for an experiment, he was obtaining results, which were as accurate as if a much longer time had been expended. With Davy rapidity was power."

The larger part of the intellectual operations of a man of genius are intuitive. There is but little space between the first conception and its full result. Patient labour belongs to the reflecting mind. Thinking, in its strongest sense, requires the combined energy of several powers; memory, the capacity for detecting the analogies and relations of various facts; judgment, and the highest efforts of reason; while with him, whose intellect moves more rapidly, a suggestion, an idea not yet tested, forces itself

on the attention, with the strongest conviction of its reality and truth. The author here draws a contrast between Davy and Wollaston; the latter undoubtedly the equal in many things, superior in some, and only wanting a mind that did not reflect the errors and flaws of its results, as well as their finer proportions, to be beyond his rival. Their great distinction was in the larger views with which Davy examined nature, and the extended importance the strength of his imagination gave to an apparently small discovery. He traversed worlds, while the other studied the botany, mineralogy, &c. of some secluded corner. But the microscopic intellect of Wollaston never missed a truth, and while the other roamed through nature for food for labour, his peering curiosity had marked many singular novelties. "A small tray, containing some glass tubes, a blow-pipe, two or three watch glasses, a slip of platinum, and a few test bottles," was his whole laboratory. "Wollaston appeared to take great delight in showing by what small means he could produce great results. Shortly after he had inspected the grand galvanic battery constructed by Mr. Children, and had witnessed some of those brilliant phenomena of combustion which its powers produced, he accidentally met a brother chemist in the street, and seizing his button, (his constant habit when speaking on any subject of interest,) he led him to a corner, when taking from his waistcoat pocket a tailor's thimble that contained a galvanic arrangement, and pouring into it the contents of a small phial, he instantly heated a platinum wire to a white heat."

But Davy gives the character of his own mind, in a letter to a gentleman, who appears to have expressed a fear that the world might lead him from science.

"Be not alarmed, my dear friend, as to the effect of worldly society on my mind. The age of danger has passed away. There are in the intellectual being of all men, permanent elements, certain habits and passions that cannot change. I am a lover of nature, with an ungratified imagination. I shall continue to search for untasted charms, for unhidden beauties. My real, my waking existence, is amongst the objects of scientific research—common amusements and enjoyments are necessary to me only as dreams, to interrupt the flow of thoughts too nearly analogous to enlighten and to vivify."

And this history of himself constitutes the great difference between him and all other chemists who have ever appeared—a love for nature, a deep sense of her wonders, a high poetical feeling and relish for her grand scenes and beauties, and the power of appreciating them to the fullest extent. No mere love of his art, as such, no pedantic display of technicalities, nor incapacity of looking beyond the retort and crucible, which exist with the mechanical matter of fact drudge, but a wide reach, that bore with it knowledge and power, and anticipated the disclosure of mysteries in theory, before they were ascertained by induction from observation and experiment.

During the year 1803, Davy received an accession to his ho-

nours, by being elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and Professor of Chemistry to the Board of Agriculture. The lectures he delivered before this body, were printed, and form his volume on Agricultural Chemistry. His most laborious scientific researches were on the art of tanning, at the instigation of the managers of the Royal Institution, as fulfilling the designs of the founder in relation to practical objects. His paper on that subject may be found in the Philosophical Transactions for that year. His biographer thus draws his happy condition, in the zenith of fame, and yet but a youth.

"We can scarcely picture to ourselves a being upon whom fortune ever showered more favours than upon Davy, during this golden period of his career. Independent in an honourable competence, the product of his genius and industry; resident in the centre of all scientific information and intelligence, every avenue of knowledge, and every mode of observation open to his unwearied intellect—he must have experienced a satisfaction which few philosophers have ever before felt—the power of pursuing experimental research to any extent, and of commanding the immediate possession of all the means it might require, without the least regard either to cost or labour."

Instead of a life consumed in fruitless expectation of patronage and reward, we behold Davy in the full bloom of reputation, courted by all whom rank, talent, or station, had rendered conspicuous. His life flowed on like a pure stream, under a sky of perpetual sunshine—not a gust ruffled its surface, not a cloud obscured its brightness. In the morning he was the sage interpreter of nature's laws; in the evening he sparkled in the galaxy of fashion; and not the least extraordinary point in the character of this great man, was the facility with which he could cast aside the cares of study, and enter into the trifling amusements of society. "*Ne otium quidem otiosum*," was the exclamation of Cicero, and it will generally apply to the leisure of men actively engaged in the pursuits of science—but Davy, in closing the door of his laboratory, opened the temple of pleasure. When not otherwise engaged, his custom was to play at billiards, frequent the theatre, or read the last new novel. The following anecdote is well calculated to illustrate that versatility of talent of which we have spoken, as well as the power he possessed of abstracting himself, without detriment, from the most elaborate investigations. A friend of the late Mr. Tobin called upon him at the Institution, and found him deeply engaged in the laboratory; their conversation turned upon the "*Honey Moon*," which was to be brought out the following evening. No sooner had Davy heard, that although pressing applications had been made to several poets of the day, a prologue had not yet been written, than he instantly quitted the laboratory, and in two hours produced that which was recited by Mr. Bartley on the occasion.

He was ambitious of being thought a poet, and wrote sonnets, which we should think showed the influence fashionable life had

in making him a coxcomb. It shows versatility of talent, but also, that vanity had fixed itself within him as strongly as ambition. Among his fine qualities at this time, was a disregard of wealth; amid the glow of genius and ardour of hope, he could hardly have formed schemes of power. "Scientific glory" was his great object, and while this was increasing, the accumulation of wealth was of inferior importance; but this contempt did not prevent him from extending his admiration to a lady, who, besides other fascinations, had a large fortune. All his aspirations and hopes of fame were confirmed in the year 1806, by his Bakerian lecture on Voltaic Electricity. Very early in life, Davy experimented on galvanism, and proposed for the theory of its action, that it was "entirely a chemical process, depending wholly on the oxidation of metallic surfaces, having different degrees of electric conducting power." He entered this field of discovery, not as an original inquirer, but by the views that presented themselves, after the fact made known by Nicholson and Carlisle, of the decomposition of water by the Voltaic apparatus. The idea was suggested, that if galvanism was a chemical process, and as it was due to electricity, of course there must be a strong relation between the chemical changes wrought in bodies, and the intensity of the electrical action produced by them—and it is now understood that the energy of the Voltaic pile depends on the degree of chemical action exerted between two bodies. When Galvani first made known his discovery of the contraction of muscles by the contact of metals, he conceived that it was able to account for some of the phenomena of life, and that muscular action, now referred to an unknown power, the will, was the result of electricity, the nerves were the media of conveyance, and the brain the machine that evolved the electric fluid. Volta overturned this theory, by bringing forward the notion of Franklin, concerning positive and negative electricity; and that instead of the muscles containing electricity, they were only its conductors, and the excitement they displayed at the contact of the metals, was no more than its passage along the nerves and fibres. Being satisfied of the agency of the metals, he constructed his pile, and used it to show the effect of electricity on animal bodies, without a correct idea as to the manner of its action. Fabbroni, soon after the experiments of Galvani were made known, published his opinions, and disputed the agency of galvanism, attributing the peculiar sensation in the tongue, produced by the contact of two metals, to a chemical operation, "in the same manner as probably the sense of taste itself is caused." "And that this very principle, which produces an unexpected taste, may also produce a convulsive contraction in the animal fibre, when it comes to touch the irritable and sensible parts uncovered at the same time." He conceived that the disposition some metals have to combine,

when brought together under certain circumstances, the rapidity with which some of them attract oxygen, the formation of a new compound, and a chemical operation, should be considered as capable of causing certain effects on animal bodies, in preference to a specific action by galvanism; and thus attempted to prove, that galvanic phenomena were mere chemical effects. Davy took up the subject, and discovered that the powers of the Voltaic pile, were in proportion to the rapidity with which the zinc became oxidated by the conducting fluid. Continuing his experiments on the decomposition of water, he found that the evolution of the constituents of water was constant, though the water was in separate quantities, and these connected only by metallic conductors and muscular fibre.

Some experiments which had been performed on the action of galvanism upon compound bodies led him to suppose, that their component parts might be obtained in a separate state. The phenomena brought out during these experiments were the foundation of his Bakerian lecture, which has been asserted to be, "the finest and completest specimen of inductive reasoning which appeared during the age in which he lived." It certainly displays remarkable perseverance and energy, besides strong reasoning power, and has made chemistry approach nearer to a science, than a mere display of loose and unconnected facts, the condition it presented to the world for many centuries.

His first section is devoted to the discovery of the changes produced by electricity in water—and he shows that the appearance of the acid and alkaline matter, at their different poles, was not owing to new products formed, but resulted from their prior existence in the water, and that this fluid, when pure, was resolved into its elements alone. Different saline solutions were then decomposed by electricity, and the fact, that former experimenters had made known, of acid and alkaline matter appearing at their respective poles was confirmed, and that these elements could be transferred by the attraction of the electrical state, opposite to their own, to another electrified surface. This always took place except when the substance through which the acid or alkali was to pass, possessed so strong an affinity for either of these as to prevent their passage; in that case, very little of these elements reached the attracting points. These results were the most interesting which chemistry had ever produced, and offered a vast field for research and speculation. It had been long known that the two kinds of electricity produced different effects; but none had conceived that their bounds extended so far as to include many of the most mysterious processes in nature, and that chemical affinity, hitherto attributed to an unknown law of matter, was to be found dependent on the states of electricity existing in their constituent parts. Still, the question rose, how was it that these made

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their way from one pole to the other, even when the distance was considerable.

It had been thought, within a few years preceding this period, that electricity played a greater part in nature, than had been before imagined. Volta went so far as to suppose that all bodies possessed a certain state, either of positive or negative electricity; but as a consequence of Davy's experiments, the whole law of chemical attractions turned on these conditions, and that which Volta had presumed, to account for the action of the pile, was shown to be an universally prevailing principle in matter. Allowing that all the atoms of all bodies were thus surrounded by electricity, some theory was required to explain how it was communicated. It was easy to understand, that two atoms in juxtaposition might be acted on, but how could the same power traverse large spaces, and put in motion large masses; this Davy attempted to decide, by supposing, "that the repellent and attractive energies are communicated from one particle to another particle of the same kind, so as to establish a conducting chain in the fluid," and that "in the decomposition of water and saline solutions, there may possibly be a succession of decompositions and recompositions throughout the fluid." This hypothesis is sufficiently simple, and seems borne out by certain facts.

There is still another part of the subject in great obscurity—how is electricity retained around the constituent parts of a body? The only law now known by which this could be caused, is the attraction of gravitation, and this is exerted with a force in proportion to the size of the masses; yet the electrical matter adheres with an intensity which can hardly be explained by that law, since it is known that the quantity of electricity is not in proportion to the quantity of matter, but to the extent of surface. But the nature of electricity is very little understood, and it might be doubted whether it be a distinct fluid, having its own habits and laws, or whether it be a new action excited in bodies by their various changes, and the different relations they assume one towards another. It certainly in some instances seems to require the agency of heat to be put in motion, and bodies that exhibit it at no other time, become powerfully electrified. These new views of Davy's, gave a clearer insight into many processes in nature than had ever before been displayed. He went so far as to presume that they might explain some of the actions of vegetable and animal life. They introduced into chemistry the electro-chemical theory which, however imperfect, offers a rational solution of many things before utterly obscure: chemists have not only adopted it, but classed bodies according to the kind of electricity they possess as electro-positive or electro-negative. By these discoveries, Davy reached the summit of his reputation. All his future contributions to science

were the consequences of his knowledge of the powers of the galvanic battery. Even his competitors in France paid homage to his genius, and the Institute awarded to him the prize of the First Consul, founded for the purpose of encouraging experiments on the galvanic fluid. But like most men who make great discoveries, and dazzle the world with original views, and their great consequences, he was subjected to the imputation of having been anticipated, and of using the suggestions of others to fill the spaces to which his own thoughts could not extend. This is an easy charge to make, but difficult to refute, for there is such a similarity between the ideas of two minds, which have followed nearly the same track, as to strengthen a belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, and that instead of the immaterial principle having an independent being, and coming to us free and unconnected, it is no more than part and parcel of some former existence, burdened and tainted with the defects and impurities of its preceding habitation. Thus, all knowledge becomes but a succession of acquirements, accumulated and extended by the same mind, continued with various capacities for improvement, and various powers through several different individuals, each individual possessing, however, a more limited or enlarged faculty of reproducing objects that were before represented and conceived imperfectly. In this view, La Place is an emanation from Newton, yet labouring with materials, to a certain extent perfected by some predecessor, or new modelled by the spirits who have formed the links in the intellectual chain between those two men, and Davy, a modern Roger Bacon, working with the host of improvements and resources which have been created and applied to science. So that, however an age may flatter itself with the fancy that it is far greater than all others, yet its pride will be subdued in knowing that all it values and esteems as its own, has long existed, and is now only approaching its maturity.

The present age vainly presumes, that the principles it advocates, on the liberties and government of men, are now produced by the march of mind, acting under a strong and novel impulse: and casts the aspersion of ignorance on all preceding times, debasing them with the slur of folly and dulness. Yet these principles, so strongly advanced, and claiming, with all the violence and enthusiasm of newly excited curiosity, their modern origin, are such as every liberal mind has conceived and boldly asserted, through a long series of sages, patriots, and heroes. The only difference between the present and any other time, is in the general diffusion of knowledge. Every revolution, under whatever form of government, has put in motion the sentiments of liberty, which every one feels he has the right to urge; and however they may have subsided after this agitation, yet still remain to be called up, by circumstances, that must occur in the

course of things. In a general excitement, a nation like an individual, finds all its faculties improve and expand: and, in the new sensations, the attainment of new powers. The world is now undergoing an universal revolution—not merely nations, but the earth is animated with the awakened spirit of freedom: but the principles for which they contend, are the same that mingled with the visions of Plato, and which have moved steadily through every vicissitude—through the chaos of national desolation—the ruin of empires, and the waste of civil convulsion. They have retreated before tyranny, and yielded to a necessity: but always stood near to rush to the aid of their friends, and covertly undermine, when not able to overpower. They are like the principle of life, sometimes vivid and intense, but giving way to constitutional debility, decay, and death, yet ever existing, and regenerating, in the midst of agony, the nearly lifeless and enfeebled being. It is one of the misfortunes of knowledge to be driven to the certainty of our ignorance, however deep our labours, and active our curiosity; to be compelled to admit that we know little or nothing; and the stronger the intellect—the more laboriously it is exerted, the more powerfully is this truth forced on us. Almost all men can conceive more than they can perform; and from the labours of genius in times past, hints may be gathered that bear directly on some present project or labour, or lead to what seems a recent discovery, or an original view. The improvements of art lead to the unfolding the resources of nature: new materials of thought are offered, and the bounds of reason extended, by the accumulation of facts. That which was thrown out as conjecture, whose truth could not be ascertained, gives birth to some great result. The teeming invention of genius is roused by the view of vast consequences: and by utility and the advancement of human knowledge, pays the debt due to the mind that originated the first conception. We here meet the question—who is most deserving the gratitude of mankind—he who seized the first crude thought, or he who moulded it into form? If every thing is to be decided by the extent of its usefulness, there can be no hesitation in the answer. But there are men who admire intellect, and its exertions, even obscured by rude expression—surrounded by absurdity, and thronged with abortive fancies. The mere shaping the thought of another, and bringing it to bear in practical advantage, may be easy by the aid offered, in the improvements and necessities of civilization: but there is a far higher admiration due to him, who, surrounded by the barrenness of the age, and not stimulated by the observation of its wants, forestals time, and anticipates circumstances that ages are to disclose. We regard Newton with higher respect, for the slight causes from which he brought consequences, than for the whole of his great edifice of truth. The genius that seizes a

minute object, and feels the conviction of its importance, but from circumstances is unable to carry it through all the consequences, is as great as the one that applies the discovery, and developes all its vast results. The sagacity is more profound and acute, which throws out an independent thought, clashing or unconnected with received opinions, devoid of all evidence or support but from its own deductions, than the practical shrewdness that sees its value in its application. The conjecture that the diamond contained an inflammable substance, was not verified till modern times, and was the inference of a most remarkable reasoning power. Many of the finest parts of science have been taken from the suggestions of some preceding comprehensive intellect, that was able to predict the future value of its labours, but without the means of continuing them; leaving these as legacies, to inspire the exertions of kindred minds, and form the fountains of thought, by which succeeding eras were to be refreshed and improved. The name of the individual to whom chemistry is indebted for the most essential portion of its structure, is obscured by the superior elevation given to him who has perfected and extended it. It seems almost an intellectual law, that however widely the future may be opened to a reflecting mind; however truly it may foretel its necessities, and point to where improvement must commence, ages may elapse before a similar genius will follow the same track, and achieve the desired ends. Minds of sufficient capacity will fill all the intermediate spaces, and fit the object for a rapid course: but it is for the master-spirit to give the impulse—to invigorate—to break and crumble down the useless, the feeble, and imperfect. Such beings are the store-houses from which men gather thought. Their works are referred to, as to capacious laboratories, where every material is offered for ingenuity and practical ability to employ. Such men are great intellectual eras—the powers by which succeeding minds extend the bounds of knowledge, and renew the chain of thought at the point where it was deserted. The theory of gravity, on which the sublimity of Newton's immortality rests, was conceived by Kepler and Hooke; but from activity of imagination, and the want of inflexible patience of thought, they did not reduce it to fixed laws; this was left to a superior capacity. Thus one great mind approximates to a discovery—another effects it. The mysteries of nature open to the view of genius, but it is without the power to unfold them; and an infinity of thought, applied through successive ages, is required for the disclosure of the resources, the establishment of the laws, and the observation of the immense variety of objects the universe affords. Davy had been preceded in his Voltaic experiments by several able men: but none had struck on the path of reasoning that led to the results he deduced, and he was so far entitled to the credit of ori-

ginality. This claim was still further authorized by the continuation of his labours, and discovery of new objects: and the hostility of contemporary malice was defeated by the splendour with which he dazzled all minds. As an immediate consequence of the law, that bodies were attracted to the different poles of the battery, he inferred that the fixed alkalies, if compound, would undergo decomposition. After great toil, this hope was triumphantly confirmed, and new substances were brought to light by this new resource of electricity. Potash was decomposed, and its base found to be a metal: the same result was obtained from the decomposition of soda; and by the analogies thus opened, experiments were made on the earths; in rapid succession these were discovered by Berzelius, Wohler, and Davy, to be also metallic oxides. A number of new elements were thus found, that lead to many new views of nature. From the excessive attraction of these elementary bodies for oxygen, a conjecture might be made as to their action, in producing many of the most extraordinary phenomena; and Davy at once made a practical application of his theory of their agency in volcanoes, by constructing an artificial mountain in the theatre of the Royal Institution:—

“A mountain had been modelled in clay, and a quantity of the metallic bases introduced into its interior; on water being poured upon it, the metals were soon thrown into violent action, successive explosions followed, red hot lava was seen flowing down its sides—from a crater in miniature, mimic lightnings played around; and in the instant of dramatic illusion, the tumultuous applause, and continued cheering of the audience, might almost have been regarded as the shouts of the alarmed fugitives of Herculaneum or Pompeii.”

Davy, and the world of science with him, conceived that in electricity, he now possessed a key to the most obscure mysteries. The bounds of knowledge had been vastly extended, by the discovery of new elementary bodies; and it was no remote suggestion of his active imagination, to suppose that other bodies, which had long been presumed to be simple, might be discovered to be compound, by the application of these new resources. All chemists, to render their science as exact as possible, have agreed to consider those forms of matter chemical analysis cannot reach and decompose, as elementary; and the alkalies and earths, now separated into their component parts, had rested without the suspicion of their real nature. But as soon as it was made known that they were elements, the question arose whether other bodies might not be compound, (that had been considered simple) and attention was directed towards sulphur, phosphorus, and carbon. These resisted every attempt, and are still regarded as not compound, though considerable doubt may remain, as to the future disclosures of science. Art is daily yielding new powers, and it is impossible now to foresee how much may be effected by future experiments. But this part of chemical investigation offers most serious obstacles. If accident should not make us

acquainted with the desired result, the habitual impression of the elementary nature of those objects, will deter any but the rashly ignorant, or those to whom genius brings truth in the shape of undoubting conviction or inspiration. In attempting to decompose them, we approach the strong-holds of nature, and to judge from what is now known, lay bare all her secret resources. We can conceive of no mystery, after once exposing her ultimate powers. But it is the limit to human energy. We only unfold the various forms of matter, and are still forced back in ignorance of the cause that moves them. We make no approach to an acquaintance with the animating spirit; yet look with amazement and admiration at the variety of created things, and the wonderful effects, originating in the minutest causes. The expanse of knowledge leads to still greater wonder at the great Creator. Anatomy has improved our speculations upon the nature of man, and by correct modes of examination, given us better data by which to reason on his intellectual qualities and moral attributes; but we are as remote as ever from even a distant idea of the principle of life. Astronomy has laid the heavens before us. We tread through spheres—view the planetary motions—and seem almost habitants of far off worlds; regard with as much composure and familiarity, these homes of unknown beings, floating in their ocean of azure, as the sailor, the ship, on the bosom of our earth's sea. Yet what have we gained but instruction in the majesty of a Deity. We are appalled at the grandeur of this illuminated field of splendour, and feel our thoughts awakened at the lustre of the view; but the cause is still mysterious that moves and regulates the universe. Thus the further we enter the laboratory of nature, it is but to increase our acquaintance with matter; and the nearer we approach the ultimate means with which she works, the more exposed are we to the mortification of defeat.

Ancient inquirers studied with their limited resources, the various objects presented on the surface of nature; it was left to modern science, to combine analogies, to make compact loose arrangement, and breathe a spirit of precision and order, into the unarranged mass of materials. They appear to have supposed with few exceptions, that there was no room for future discovery; that the revolution of ages would increase the pre-eminence of their reputation and their genius, prove the correctness of their course, and develop the increasing importance of the truths they have given to the world. Posterity has been grateful, by lessening the influence of their errors and ignorance, by removing their crude speculations, sifting their theories, and putting aside strong assertions, whose basis was fixed in the violence of enthusiasm, not in the plausible instigations of instinct, nor in the valuable hints of an often undeviating sagacity. The

application of the test of experiment, and analytical reasoning, has placed modern science in a condition that admits of no retrograde motion. It must advance in proportion to the mental power engaged in its cultivation. All discoveries are now accurate deductions, and not accidental. The progress is towards perfection; and if this be impossible, the ardour with which every step moves, promises the fulfilment of high expectation. Among the greatest of the discoveries, of which the old philosophers appear to have formed no idea, is that of the great variety of elementary bodies. Their knowledge of these did not extend beyond the air, earth, water, and fire; and the creation of the world, with all its variety of existing things, arose from these. They must have contemplated with amazement the vast number of different arrangements and combinations these elements assumed, yet the difficulty of accounting for the various actions of the same substance, does not seem to have suggested that it was compound. Boyle, Hooke, and Mayow, first threw doubts on the composition of the atmosphere, and its real nature was soon after disclosed, by the experiments that made known oxygen. Water was then decomposed, and within a few years, several new elements have been found. As a singular proof of our imperfect knowledge, notwithstanding the length of time that scientific men have been acquainted with the air, it is totally unknown what part nitrogen plays, and their ignorance is still greater on the use of the minute quantity of carbonic acid. Life can, neither in vegetables nor animals, be supported without oxygen; some late experiments show that it continues for a time proportionate to the amount of that gas, until by its excess, vitality is destroyed by the intensity of its own action. Nitrogen destroys life, it is supposed, by the mere want of oxygen, so that it acts in the air, as a mere moderator, to the violent stimulus by which living things would be annihilated if they received oxygen alone. But it is a question of great interest to know what effect can be produced, by the very small quantity of carbonic acid, that exists invariably at all altitudes. There are some analogous instances of as great mystery, and the further nature has opened a view of some of her secret recesses, the less able are we to understand her operations.

Within a few years, accident has given to chemistry several new elements, and each exists in such small amount as hardly to be conceived to possess an appreciable action; yet from their energy when in an isolated state, they must be the most powerful ingredient of the mass from which they are taken. In analyzing the mineral waters of England, Dr. Dauberry found that iodine existed never in a greater proportion than one grain to ten or twelve gallons, and often in a much smaller quantity; and bromine is also found in no larger quantities. No view seems

sufficient to account for their agency, unless by supposing that they give new properties to the different parts of the mass with which they are combined. Mr. Herschell has shown how easily considerable bodies of matter may be affected by the minutest quantity, even one-millionth part of the whole. The analysis of the air of hospitals, though strong with the effluvia of disease, and that of the atmosphere when rife with miasmata, detects no alteration in any of its properties, nor the existence of any new or foreign matter. Art has not, by any invention, reached the delicacy of our senses. Our body is exposed to destruction by powers so subtle as to escape human ingenuity, and our idea of the refinement of its organization is increased in the degree that our hope in the efficiency of medicine is diminished. It is not surprising that Davy failed in his attempts on sulphur, phosphorus, &c., even if they are compound, though he succeeded in adding boron, as another element, to the science of chemistry. While engaged in these investigations, he succeeded in showing that chlorine did not contain oxygen; a contest ensued between him and Dr. Murray, who adhered to the theory of Berthollet; but the chemical world came into the views of Davy, since it was no longer possible to resist without injuring their science, as the assertions of the one were merely theoretical, those of the other, founded on laborious experiment. Besides, the nature of chlorine, supposing it to be elementary, is supported by the analogies of iodine and bromine, whose character as simple bodies is not disputed; and throughout the whole frame of nature, though analogy is not absolute proof, it is the nearest approach to it our imperfect powers can gain—one that cannot be denied without endangering a vast deal of our presumed knowledge.

This contest, though decided in favour of Davy, again brought him into conflict with his ancient enemies and rivals, the French. They claimed priority, in the hypothesis of chlorine being a simple body, which he gave to Scheele, taking to himself “the labour of having demonstrated its properties and combinations, and of having explained the chemical phenomena it produces.” Though thus modestly declining the whole honour belonging to the subject, it will be one of the proudest monuments to his reputation, and the world will not hesitate to yield him all the merit of the supposition and the demonstration of its truth. The scientific glory at which he aimed was now complete. He had reached the time of life when the interest attached to youthful genius subsides, and men look more to profound views and real ability, than to the dazzling display of precocity. He had already taken the rank of the first chemist of the age; but in England, the ambitious man feels other wants than can be attained by scientific celebrity. All such renown is confined to a class. No homage is yielded, but by the few who appreciate the import-

ance of the pursuits; and every one who, like Davy, possesses the element of vanity in his character, is desirous of being placed among the aristocracy of rank and fortune, as well as with that of intellect. He had always, it seems, been smitten with the love of title, and had a wonderful facility of caressing and bowing to leaders of fashion—to Sir Harry, my Lord, and his Grace. This was the only vulgar taint in Davy's mind, and like the foibles of talent, is the more conspicuously absurd from its alliance with such a spirit. The weaknesses of common men are not noticed; they are the necessities of their nature; but with those of high endowments, they show the intensity of will wrongly directed.

Davy's ambition of being raised to the patrician order, was gratified by that most ordinary honour, knighthood. In three days from this signal elevation, he was married, and in two months from the last event, published his *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*; thus in the space of a few months, closing his career as a public lecturer, and retiring to private life with all his honours, giving to the world the results of his labours. This work is in an unfinished state, the first volume only being published. It was upon too grand a scale for the energies of a single life to compass. He proposed to establish by experiment every fact known to chemistry, and by his own personal efforts, to go through the whole science. But the ardour that originated the plan flagged, as the necessity for labour diminished with the increase of reputation and attainment of his hopes. If he had fulfilled his intentions, it would have been a gift of great value to the world. In 1813, Davy visited Paris with the express permission of Bonaparte. His first visit to any of the curiosities of the city was to the Louvre, and it appears, he had no taste for painting or sculpture. The only exclamation as he walked the gallery being, "what an extraordinary collection of fine frames," and on being shown Raphael's great picture of the Transfiguration, his joy was expressed by the cold remark, "indeed, I am glad I have seen it." On reaching the statues, his admiration was still negative, and the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Venus, were passed with as much indifference as if they had been human beings, not mental creations. At last his secret feelings were betrayed "at the sight of an Antinous treated in the Egyptian style, and sculptured in alabaster." "Gracious powers," said he, "what a beautiful stalactite!" So that this poet, philosopher, enthusiastic admirer of nature, &c., regarded all these noble relics of intellect and time, with less admiration than the minerals suspended from the walls of some subterranean vault!

Dr. Paris is alarmed at this obtuseness of his hero, and bursts out, "what a strange discordant anomaly in the construction of the human mind do these anecdotes unfold! We have here pre-

sented to us a philosopher, who, with the glowing fancy of the poet, is insensible to the beauties of the sister arts. Let the metaphysician, if he can, unravel the mystery; the biographer has only to observe that the muses could never have danced in chorus at his birth." The metaphysical wand is not wanted, to solve this enigma. A love for the fine arts is an acquired taste. Davy was a lover of nature—of her beauty—her rudeness and grandeur, and had never touched upon the high-wrought refinements of the pencil or the chisel. His imagination was active, powerful, and free—delighting in bold and open scenes—where all was chaotic and majestic, such as could not be represented by the delicate graces and tracery of the limner's art. It requires but little poetical feeling, to admire enthusiastically painting and sculpture; and often an individual who is fond of the one, takes no interest in the other. There is a restraint about almost all pictures; they do not embody enough, and a feeling of dissatisfaction results from the best—even the landscapes of Wilson, Hobbima, or Poussin, that are generally conceded to be among the most beautiful representations of nature, do not fill the mind with an excellence equal to our own conceptions. We look on them as fine exhibitions of art, and if able to appreciate this, derive nearly all our pleasure from that source of admiration, while we are neglectful of the design they intend to depict. Much of this want of gratification in viewing the chefs d'œuvres of painting, is perhaps due to ignorance of its principles. Sir Joshua Reynolds states, that he passed the works of Raphael in the Vatican, without notice; and it was not till after long labour in studying and copying, that he began to conceive their merits.

Barry, in a letter to Burke, speaks with mortification, of what he supposes to be a deficiency of feeling or capacity, in not being struck at first sight with Raphael. We offer this defence of Davy, because we think better of him for not feigning a rapture, for what he did not understand, as it would probably not have been difficult to deceive his companion into a still greater wonder at his intellectual powers, than that he already felt.

The object with which Davy was most pleased at Paris, was the bronze Elephant, which it was designed to erect as a fountain, on the site of the Bastile. The design was never completed, and it is still among the remnants of Napoleon's magnificent conceptions. There appears to have been no remains of ill feeling, among the Savans against their old competitor. They received him with every demonstration of respect, and toasted him both privately and publicly. But this only lasted till scientific collision roused animosity. A few years before this visit to Paris, a new body had been discovered, but its properties had not been examined, and little was known of its chemical relations. Gay Lussac was the first to hint a suspicion of its analogy

to chlorine, and that it might be considered a simple body or a compound of oxygen. But Davy sent to the Institute a general view of its chemical nature and relations, and shortly after an elaborate paper to the Royal Society, concerning it. He thus stole away the honour of its description from the French, and was certainly the first to give to the world, the nature and character of iodine; there still exists among some of the chief chemists of France, a very bitter feeling against the memory of Davy, for interfering in their progress towards discovery.

Davy was not presented to the Emperor; and it is supposed, of course, that the omission arose from objections to the English philosopher; this anecdote is given to account for it.

"It is well known that Bonaparte, during his whole career, was in the habit of personal intercourse with the Savans of Paris, and that he not unfrequently attended the sittings of the Institute. Upon being informed of the decomposition of the alkalies, he asked with some impetuosity, how it happened that the discovery had not been made in France? 'We have never conducted a battery of sufficient power,' was the answer. 'Then,' exclaimed Bonaparte, 'let one be instantly formed without any regard to cost or labour.' The command of the Emperor was of course obeyed; and, on being informed that it was in full action, he repaired to the laboratory to witness its powers. On his alluding to the taste produced by the contact of two metals, with that rapidity that characterized all his motions, and before the attendants could interpose any precaution, he thrust the extreme wires of the battery under his tongue, and received a shock that nearly deprived him of sensation. After recovering from its effects, he quitted the laboratory, without making any remark, and was never afterwards heard to refer to the subject."

Davy's return for the kindness of the French, does not show his character in an amiable point of view. He displayed arrogance, an insolent superiority, even to the most distinguished, which his biographer attempts to palliate by attributing it to a want of habitual attention to the courtesies of society.

In December of this year, (1813) he left Paris for Italy, and at the different cities on his passage, employed himself in chemical investigation. At Montpellier, he experimented on iodine, and at Florence on the combustion of the diamond; using the same lens with which Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, made the first trials of the effect of solar heat on the diamond. The results of the experiments showed that the diamond produces by combustion, no other product than carbonic acid gas. At Rome he tried the effect of combustion on different kinds of charcoal; and the only difference found between the precious stone and the charcoal, was a small portion of hydrogen in the latter; which is not now considered as a constituent part of that body. The quantity indeed is so small, as to render it difficult to conceive, that it could produce a change in their character; but as they are different in physical and chemical properties, and as this is the only substance the most delicate analysis can detect, our only refuge is, that we here meet another of nature's mysteries, without the requisite power for its elucidation.

Among the most interesting individuals that Davy met on this Italian tour, was the man to whom he was indebted for the commencement of his reputation; and the anecdote as related, is characteristic of continental taste and punctilio, and British dislike of ceremony.

“Davy had sent a letter to Pavia, to announce his intended visit: and on the appointed day and hour, Volta, in full dress, anxiously awaited his arrival. On the entrance of the great English philosopher into the apartment, not only in ‘deshabille’ but in a dress of which an English artisan would have been ashamed, Volta started back in astonishment, and such was the effect of his surprise, that he was for some time unable to address him.”

At Rome, Davy examined the colours on the old paintings found in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and those from excavations made in the “eternal city” itself. The baths of Titus, that were first opened in the time of Raphael, and from which he is accused of borrowing the figures of the pictures then discovered to be transferred to his great works in the Vatican, and several other ruins, have given to the world some fine specimens of ancient art, in most extraordinary preservation. The paintings on the ceilings are said to be as fresh as if newly laid, and those on the walls at Pompeii, when moistened, are in the same state. The art of fixing colours seems now almost lost. Several of the finest pictures of modern times are gradually wasting to a mere outline. The celebrated “Count Ugolino,” of Reynolds, at Knole Park, Kent, has faded in many parts, nearly to indistinctness; while the works of Titian, and Claude, and Raphael, and the rest of the old masters, are as clear and perfect as if just from the painter’s hand. They possessed, it would seem, some medium, that gave strength and durability to their colours, which is now unknown. The paper of Davy, in which he gives the chemical details, and the history of his discoveries, is in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1815.

The next subject to which his mind was turned, is of a more practical nature, and of a far higher importance to human interests, than any at which he had yet laboured. His speculations and their results had shown the possession of the finest intellect, and been deeply interesting philosophically: they had taken a range much beyond the sweep of minds in general; he looked forward more deeply to the determinations of the future, than the humbler capacity of more ordinary spirits could reach. In all that he had undertaken, and in all that he had effected, he evinced faculties counselled by reason, and guided by truth. His failures arose from the presumption of success, overpowering his judgment: but they were of that class in which genius works in the dark, unassisted by the aids gained in the

more advanced progress of science, and where smaller men would have found immortality, by the attempt and the defeat. The object now in view, was to be attained only as a pure deduction from facts. No one had preceded him to give a clue even by miscarriage; he was obliged to gather from experiment all the testimony it could bring, and all the light it could throw on a matter yet new and obscure. Not long after his arrival from Paris, he was requested to examine the causes of explosions in coal mines—and, if possible, devise some plan for preventing them. Men of science had done all in their power to destroy this source of havoc and death, but entirely failed: every year the evil was increasing with the depth of the excavations. The coal beds are of immense extent, and the pitmen, for many hours, without any direct communication with the external air; but every precaution is taken, by means of machinery, to ventilate and carry fresh air through the mine, though it has been found impossible to prevent the accumulation of the fire damp. New reservoirs of this gas are opened in the progress of the workings, and have occasioned the idea that the strata of coal “have been formed under a pressure greater than that of the atmosphere.” “On some occasions, the pitmen have opened with their picks, crevices or fissures in the coal or shale, which have emitted as much as seven hundred hogsheads of fire damp in a minute,” and have continued in an active state for months, and sometimes years. From different causes, it sometimes occurs that the whole atmosphere of a mine becomes filled with the inflammable gas. “On the approach of a candle, it is in an instant kindled; the expanded fluid drives before it a roaring whirlwind of flaming air, which tears up every thing in its progress, scorching some of the miners to a cinder, and burying others under enormous ruins shaken from the roof—when, thundering to the shafts, it converts the mine as it were into an enormous piece of artillery, and wastes its fury in the discharge of thick clouds of coal dust, stones, and timber, together with the limbs and mangled bodies of men and horses.”

The most terrific accident of the kind occurred near Sunderland, in the year 1812, in which ninety-two persons were destroyed. The attention of benevolent individuals was immediately attracted to the attempting some mode of preventing or lessening the chance of an evil so fearful. An association was formed with the design of interesting scientific men, and engaging their services in this cause, which was emphatically that of humanity. An application was made to Sir Humphrey Davy, who at once assented, and took up the subject with his usual energy. Several plans were struck out by his active imagination, for doing away with the clumsy apparatus for lighting mines, or neutralizing the inflammable air, by mixing another gas with the atmo-

spheric current, even before he had visited the collieries, or had more than a general idea of the cause of their explosion. In the progress of his experiments, and before the properties of the fire damp were thoroughly analyzed, he invented four lamps, whose flame was extinguished, when the air of the mine was made explosive by the inflammable gas. He discovered that this gas was less combustible than other inflammable airs, and that the heat produced by its combustion, was less intense than that of those gases under similar circumstances. He also found that the quantity of air necessary to produce an explosive atmosphere, by mixing with the fire damp, is very considerable; and that the addition of nitrogen and carbonic acid diminishes the velocity of the inflammation, or entirely destroyed it. His great discovery, that "explosive mixtures could not be fired in metallic tubes of certain lengths and diameters," was made at this stage of his inquiries, and depends on the simple principle that flame is cooled below its point of incandescence, by passing through metallic wire-gauze, or, which is the same, through metallic tubes of small diameters. With this apparently mean contrivance, the miner moves amid the dark enclosures of beds of coal without dread, and works as cheerfully as the labourer on the soil above him; for this safety, and future preservation of human life, the world is indebted to the ingenuity of Sir Humphrey Davy, and the improvements of chemistry. In the midst of these interesting experiments, his observing mind detected a new phenomenon—slow combustion without flame: and that some metals will continue to give a strong light, even when the heat that inflamed them is removed. He applied this novel principle to his lamp; and by placing a small cage of platinum wire over the lighted wick, whenever an explosive atmosphere is approached, the flame is extinguished, and the wire yields a sufficient light for the miner's purposes.

In 1818, the long delayed honour of a baronetcy was conferred on Sir Humphrey. Dr. Paris inveighs very bitterly, and we fear very uselessly, against the dominion of an aristocracy that withholds the due of merit from the labours of science, but lavishes wealth and rank on military success. To this general declamation, though true in fact, there is this answer—that men of science either do, or ought to care, very little for the pomp of title and station; they seldom possess the mean ambition or foolish pride to wish them, and are generally unfitted by their habits for the exercise of such dignities. It is in retirement, and with their circle, that their happiness is found; and the display of gaudy honours gives no new impulse to their energies, nor expance to their powers. What gratification would Newton have received by an elevation to the House of Peers, when the same hand that put the sign manual to *his* patent of nobility, did

the same for some servile political tool, or court minion? The most degraded and the most contemptible of his Britannic majesty's subjects sometimes find their way to the upper house, by performing services a man of honour would scorn—by wooing men in office—by sycophantic treachery—by arts and devices that weigh upon the conscience. Nelson won his way to the peerage and the tomb, when gratitude was wrung from his government by the demands of public opinion; Pitt, and Fox, and Canning, died with no other honour than the greatest a human being can attain—an undying name. Men are moved more by the imagination, than the intellect; a single battle, with all its ghastly scenes, and vivid tumult, figured before us, is tenfold more exciting than the noblest monument scientific genius has raised. The mass require a dramatic effect. Some emotion must be roused: for neither enthusiasm nor admiration, that result from excess of feeling, can be directed towards the pure but naked splendour of mere mind; and, for this reason, the finest works of art—the most sublime discoveries—the loftiest conceptions, as Milton's, are lost to the majority of men. They cannot be popular, since they confer no pleasure; they are too exalted for common gratification; they require kindred spirits to appreciate the powers that created them, and to feel their beauties. It seems that, in free countries, what are vulgarly called honours, will only be granted as political rewards; while in despotisms, or those governments bearing the name, scientific and literary merit will receive patronage, as an inducement for others to engage in the same pursuits, and deter all from, or lessen their interest in state affairs.

In England, we hear of no Lord Davy, or Lord Moore, or Lord Campbell, or any poet, or physician, or natural philosopher, rising beyond a knighthood or baronetcy; while on the continent, philosophy is imbedded in titles, and names, great enough in themselves, are beset with the array and homage of orders. The British government has ever been remiss in acknowledging the services of science and letters: but they have not felt the necessity for doing so—neither family interest, political weight, money, or public opinion have exacted it; and the noblest genius may lie neglected, till one of these puts forth its strength to displace a minister, or shake the throne.

In 1818, Davy's chemical acquirements were put in requisition for the investigation of objects more interesting to the world in general, than any he had yet pursued—the unrolling of the papyri, which had lain for seventeen centuries amid the ruins of Herculaneum; he was to endeavour to restore these remains of former minds to the labours of the student, and their authors to the reputation of which they had been disappointed. He could have undertaken no work fitted to a more anxious solicitude

for its success among the literary and learned; and his failure is no derogation from his zeal or science, but was the result of the bad condition and half decomposed state of the manuscripts. His dissatisfaction and irritation at the ill fortune of this labour, was somewhat soothed by his election to the Presidency of the Royal Society, after the death of Sir Joseph Banks. The honour was conferred without competition—his old rival, Wollaston, declining to dispute what he conceived the due of Davy's scientific ascendancy.

This elevation, in its means of usefulness to mankind, and in the character of those who had possessed it, was superior to a dukedom; though a late event has diminished its importance—the choice of a prince of the blood, the Duke of Sussex, instead of Mr. Herschell, who to his own fame adds the halo of hereditary glory. Davy's active love for science, was not abated by his accession of honours. He extended the electro-magnetic discoveries of Oersted, and showed that electric light could be produced in the Torricellian vacuum—a fact which favours the idea of an independent fluid causing electrical phenomena. He also attempted to confirm opinions he had always held of the agency of heat in the mineral kingdom, and published the result of his experiments in the year 1822, in a paper on the state of water and æriform matter in cavities found in certain crystals. By the excessive degree of rarefaction in which the air enclosed in these crystals was found, he conceived a strong argument was adduced in favour of the Plutonists; and by the supposition that the water also existing in them, was once in chemical union with the silica of the crystal, and had separated by cooling, he struck at the most triumphant part of the theory of the Neptunists. He was soon withdrawn from these interesting but speculative researches, to matters of great practical importance. The British government applied to the Royal Society, for some mode of protecting the copper sheathing of ships; and Davy, with great zeal, took on himself the labour of the inquiry. It had been generally supposed that sea-water did not act on pure copper, and that its rapid decay was entirely owing to its impurity. This opinion was put to the test of experiment, and found to be false. A piece of polished copper was exposed to sea-water, a precipitate was formed, and the surface of the metal became corroded. This was proved to be the effect of absorption of oxygen—as copper in that fluid, deprived of air by boiling or exhaustion, and exposed in an exhausted receiver or an atmosphere of hydrogen, underwent no change. The principle which Davy had advanced in his great Bakerian lecture—that chemical and electrical changes depend on the same property of matter, and that bodies may be decomposed by placing their constituent parts in opposite electrical states—was brought to bear in this inquiry. Copper being positive in the

electro-chemical scale, it was only necessary to render it negative, to destroy the corrosive influence of sea-water. To test this, he soldered together copper and tin, the latter only equal to one-twentieth of the surface of the former, and placed them in sea-water acidulated by sulphuric acid. After three days, the copper was untouched, the tin corroded. The effect was more decided with zinc and iron. A piece of zinc the size of a pea, or the point of a small iron nail, was adequate to preserve forty or fifty square inches of copper; and in one instance, a mass of this metal, when cut into seven divisions, with a few filaments only attaching them, a portion of zinc, the fifth of an inch in diameter, soldered to the upper division, preserved the copper from the least trace of corrosion. Notwithstanding these decided results, and their value as evidence in favour of the electro-chemical theory, their practical utility was made negative, by the sheathing of the vessels becoming covered by sea-weeds and shell-fish. Under the sanguine encouragement of hope, Davy had conceived negative electricity to be pernicious to animal and vegetable life, and that the deposition of magnesia would tend to the preservation of the copper, since that substance is injurious to vegetables. "There is nothing in the poisonous nature of the metal that prevents these adhesions—it is the solution by which they are prevented, the wear of surface." By protection the copper was made innoxious, and after a trial of several weeks, the metallic surface became coated with carbonate of lime and magnesia, and under such circumstances weeds and marine insects adhered to the coatings. Davy was unsuccessful in obviating these disastrous consequences; the British government, after further attempts at his suggestion, were compelled to give up the plan entirely—and its author was exposed to the usual calumny, sarcasm, and satire, that follow the failures of genius. He established the principle for which he had contended; but its very truth was the cause of the want of success, and this is not uncommon, where our efforts are not guided by experience. The attacks of malice came on him in the season of disease, when the intellect was exhausted, and moral strength worn down by physical decay. He had lived for glory, and the sensitive feelings that gave the impulse to intellectual exertion, were now still at work, though he no longer possessed the power to meet their exactions, nor the force to fulfil or follow out the intentions or the intensity of the will. He was bitterly disappointed, by the base depreciation with which it was attempted to lower the value of all his works by this single failure. In a letter to a friend he exclaims, "a mind of much sensibility might be disgusted, and one might be induced to say, why should I labour for public objects merely to meet abuse? I am irritated by them more than I ought to be; but I am getting wiser every day, recollecting Ga-

lileo and the times when philosophers and public benefactors were burnt for their services."

Ill health had conquered his energies. The mind was sound, but it had lost the support of the body, and was failing with the draining sources of life. His last works, the *Salmonia*, and *Consolations in Travel*, indicate the expansion of intellect, and growing purity of intelligence, that come amid the feelings of approaching death, and the waste of disease. They display a sublime philosophy, which, while the mind was thronged and hurried by thoughts of ambition and worldly celebrity, was put aside, but now appeared in views more elevated, and fancies grander and more ennobling, than those which had led him to the details and precision of scientific research. It was still the same love of nature, but carried from the rigid deductions of reason, the study of cause and effect, to visions of the future, to the indefinite immensity of eternity, and to the hopes, cleared of doubt, that the subdued and chastened spirit loves to call forth, in the approach of the last moments of life. They show an observation ever alive and busy with things about it, accompanied by the high gift of imagination, that rendered a deeper glow, and more intense admiration to every scene and every thought, and which led him from the mere fact to its analogies, to the benevolence of the design, the wisdom of the Creator, the beauty and importance of the created. This strong faculty gave life to his judgment, and this reacted, by repressing wild exuberance, removing extravagance, and counselling the inordinate ardour and aspirations of that power, with the suggestions and sagacity of truth. There was a beautiful harmony and nice adjustment of the qualities of his mind. It was this intellectual arrangement that gave rapidity and effect to his labours. The strength of imagination increased the vigour and the grandeur of his conceptions, while its invariable companion, a ready apprehension, placed at once before him analogies and consequences. His views of nature were often extravagant, but founded on laws whose force was not yet tested, and whose entire value, the meager resources of experimental science did not admit of being discovered. Like most great men, he was before his time; still he had the gratification not only of anticipating future revolutions in science, but of knowing that they were in part the results of his own exertions. This feeling must have consoled the dying philosopher. He also possessed the consciousness of past and enduring usefulness—that the most difficult and abstruse subjects had been enlightened by his genius; that men would cast praise and blessings on his name; and that he would leave the world, with the importance and lustre of present greatness, the certainty of future homage, and an immortal reputation.

His malady had driven him from the society and sympathies of

friends, to the milder climate of Italy. After residing some time in Rome, composing, beneath the inspiration of her ruined grandeur, and the melancholy incited by his own decaying strength and the view of her remains of power, his "Consolations in Travel," he left that city for Geneva, where he died on the 28th of May, 1829. His feeling of resignation to his fate may be conceived from the following passage in his *Salmonia*.

"I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others, be it genius, power, wit, or fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief, to every other blessing; for it makes life a discipline of goodness, creates new hopes when all earthly hopes vanish; and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of torture and of shame the ladder of ascent to paradise, and far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths, the gardens of the blest, the security of everlasting joys—where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair."

ART. VII.—NEGRO SLAVERY.

- 1.—*The West India Question. An Outline for Immediate Emancipation, and Remarks on Compensation, &c.* By CHARLES STUART, reprinted from the *English Quarterly Magazine and Review*, 8vo. pp. 48.
- 2.—*The Abolitionist, or Record of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.* Edited by a Committee. Vol. I. No. I. Garrison & Knapp: Boston.
- 3.—*An Address to Christians, &c.* Pennsylvania: 1832.
- 4.—*The Emancipatist, &c.* New York.
- 5.—*The Colonizationist, or Journal of Freedom.* Boston.

It is not our intention to enter into a consideration of the character of the several publications here announced. Straws, however, show which way the stream runs; and when we find that a calculation in dollars and cents is the ground on which such periodical works are expected to be sustained, it shows that public interest is extensively awakening to the full discussion of the main topic, which they all embrace. Public opinion, therefore, too long inactive, as it now arouses in all its energy, should come forth well informed, and free from prejudice. Although we are aware of the distaste which widely prevails concerning slavery, as a subject somewhat trite, we again draw the attention of all parties calmly towards it. What we *must* meet should be met at once with boldness, energy, and fairness, as the best way of grasping the difficulty; and the more light which the public

can gain from candid and experienced persons, so much the better will it be prepared, whenever called upon, to give an unbiassed opinion, and to pursue a humane and enlightened course towards all parties concerned.

If there is one question more important than another to the American citizen; if there is one which demands imperatively the deliberate and attentive consideration of every lover of his country, and of every friend of humanity—it is that of slavery. The time is evidently approaching, when this topic will almost absorb attention. Under these impressions, it is our purpose to enter into a calm discussion of the leading points in the question, considered rather as one of practice than of abstract rights; and having had some experience in the matter before us, we enter upon our field of inquiry with the confidence that we ask for no higher indulgence of our readers, than the topic positively demands, often as it has been and will be named.

It must be apparent to the most cursory observer, that no citizen of the Union can stand aloof, and declare himself no party in the business of slavery and its results. This portion of our population composes one-sixth of the whole; and yet how extensive the apathy and unconcern manifested towards it! When a few thousands of aborigines could gain the ear of our whole nation, is it possible that the interests of two millions out of twelve are to be totally disregarded? If, in the first case, the subject of violated treaties was discussed in every assembly, and in every private circle through our land, is there no sympathy left for those who have just reason to complain that the common law of humanity is too often violated without the possibility of redress? Is there nothing which the enslaved African and his descendant deserve at our hands? If treaties are here wanting, and the only vestige of compact is decidedly *against* them; still can nothing be done by free America for the dark millions enslaved within her bosom? Do we fairly understand and consider their case? And if we are inactive while any thing can be done, are we clear from this crying abomination in our land?

But again, four millions of our twelve are white inhabitants residing in the principal slave states; their lives and fortunes closely involved in the result of the great question. But this is not all. Who of the remaining six millions can lay his hand on his heart and deny all interest direct or indirect in the question of slavery. Surely we are debtors to the slave. The produce of slave labour forms in value about three-fifths of the exports of the Union. Of the articles consumed in the north, and for which we are indebted to southern slave labour, the following partial enumeration will enable us to form some estimate—sugar, molasses, rice, cotton, flour, tobacco, pitch, tar, pitch-pine and white

oak lumber, amounting to more than half the estimated produce of our whole country. We do not assert that these articles may not be brought to market by other than slave labour; but we must take the fact as it now stands, in all its extent, to form a correct view of the importance of the whole question. Of the commerce also of the Union, the carrying trade from southern ports abroad, and the coasting trade itself, it is almost needless to remark, are the results of northern capital and northern labour. But for slave labour, we now ask, where had been the fine vessels, the elegant dwellings, the vast amount of accumulated property, and the successful industry of the eastern and middle states? The origin of all these may be easily traced to this important branch of the carrying trade. We ask not where they might have come from; but where did they come from, if not from slave labour? Such is the system, which, deny it who can, has interwoven itself with our very existence as a civilized people; and we may assume it then as indisputably true, that all being bound to seek the alleviation of national evils, this, the first in the dark catalogue, has, by every motive, a first claim on the common attention of our countrymen. Surely we are debtors to the slave.

We feel no hesitation now in taking the strong ground, that slavery, though it cannot be permanent, is, in every fair sense of the term, a necessary evil, and must be treated accordingly. He who thinks otherwise, and reasons, as he judges, very conclusively, on the principles of moral and abstract right, will conscientiously arrive at an opposite conclusion. But he has viewed this tremendous evil from one position only; and in seeking to magnify the object he has been contemplating, has satisfied himself that its very size prevents the possibility of his reaching another point, and viewing it from the other side. Such are much in danger of precluding the very possibility of acting, by the stand they take;—experience has shown this. In a physical sense, we are aware that it is not a necessary evil. It might cease, by a general insurrection, or by law, to-morrow; that is, the work might be so irretrievably commenced at once, that, in fact, it might be said to have ceased in the form we now have it. That a worse state of society might arise, is not now our purpose immediately to prove, though the materials, from experience, are at hand, fully to establish such an argument. In such a sense then we investigate not the case, though we shall soon glance at it, but affirm without fear, that the slavery of the southern states must, in the usual course of events, exist for many years, unless a sacrifice of life and property be made to the abstract and natural rights of one portion of our population, at the expense of another, to an amount almost incalculable. To this fact then we shall shape our

present remarks. Whether slavery shall always exist, and when it shall terminate, are totally different questions. Public opinion has decided the first, we think, irreversibly, in the negative. The second remains to be determined, but is fast narrowing down from the same irresistible cause. It may now, even morally considered, be an unavoidable evil, and yet a few years hence, be entirely abolished, and that by moral means. Very much depends upon a calm and unprejudiced apprehension on this point. If the evil is now unnecessary, it calls loudly for immediate removal. If, on the other hand, it is at present only to be mitigated, (say what we please,) and the removal itself is to be somewhat distant, it calls for exertions of a character totally different. The question, in fact, divides itself into two distinct and widely differing branches, either of which may be pursued apart from the other. And yet, side by side or apart, what is present duty as to the evil itself? And what is present duty as to its ultimate removal? In both cases, however, he would be a philanthropist of very moderate attainments, who should pass over the good of the whole in aiming at natural rights, independent of all circumstances; he would infallibly lose sight of much that might be now done, by laying out his whole strength upon the immediate attainment of an object *now* absolutely impossible.

It must, we think, be granted, that no large community or portion of a community can pass out at once from a state of coercion and moral degradation, to all the privileges of civil liberty. The miraculous interposition in the case of the Israelites, and their subsequent theocratic government, forbid us to expect such events now. If such an event appear in any instance to have occurred, the liberty seemingly attained, will invariably be found of a very doubtful character. We challenge history on this point. The form may be gained, but a marked despotism will reign beneath. The few who have intellect and energy, without honesty, obtain the ascendancy over the many; and they well know how to make oppression appear passing well to the unthinking and uninformed multitude. The latter have not the elasticity of wing, or the eagle eye of essential freedom, and neither know nor care how to throw off the new burden that oppresses them, so like is it to what habit had before rendered familiar and tolerable. They may have changed masters, but remain in subjection. In proof of this we might appeal to almost every nation in Europe, where freedom has been prematurely named, and to South America. And, in our own case, it might have been long enough before our character and institutions had become settled and permanent, were it not that Americans had been well trained to liberty long before the Revolution.

This point is still more evidently substantiated in the case of

our southern slaves. That they are degraded is admitted by all; and on this fact we rest our conclusion, that their passage to true and essential freedom, must be gradual, to effect their ultimate good, wherever may lie the sin of the lengthened process. Every calm observer acquainted with facts, and to all such we confidently appeal, will be convinced that the slaves are not fit for immediate emancipation. This we contend is, and must be decided by matter of fact. Beyond facts we could no more reason correctly than we could about the common schools of the Chinese. We are aware that the position is doubted by many, who are but partially acquainted with the points at issue, and whose sensibilities (as in most cases of great political and moral evils,) are strongly enlisted in favour of the oppressed. But the world has not been governed by sensibilities, and is not likely soon to be so. Experience, which is in such questions important, and knowledge of the case, which is a thousand times better than theory, amply confirm our position. Here it is acknowledged that we are open to the remark that the very same argument was urged in favour of the slave trade. The two cases, however, will be seen to differ widely, and because we might immediately cut off the supply of rum from the drunken father, and restore him to a sober state, does it follow that we can immediately transform him and his sons, trained up to all the evils of this vice, into good and honest and peaceful members of society, and fit to control its movements?

An emancipation law passed to-morrow, would be accompanied with the most appalling consequences. A military despotism alone could preserve even the semblance of that tranquillity, which is now attained not by the best but by milder means. Freedom could not be there. The negro slave has been born and bred up to coercion—all his habits, all his thoughts, have become adapted to it. Now, relieve him at once from this pressure—send him in a moment into a moral atmosphere incomparably more rare—call upon him at once to think and act for himself and others, when up to a certain period all this had been done for him—and urge upon him relations with which he is totally unacquainted, and nature and experience plainly point us to the confusion which would follow. The reaction from a coercive government, must be towards licentious idleness, where the mass so moved is great, and contains otherwise no principles of self-control. In a moral point of view, slaves are, in self-control, nothing in advance of children. It is in vain to deny it. Now take away from a school its master, and that must be one singularly well prepared, which could remain long in a healthy and profitable state of government. The more severe the master had been, the more unbridled would be the consequent anarchy and uproar.

This, however, is not mere theory. It is plain unvarnished history. Take St. Domingo for an example. Forty years have done little to restore that fine and productive island to the state of prosperity, either external or internal, from which it fell at the Revolution, when its inhabitants became nominally free. That its internal state is now, (as a free community) little better than a dream, one fact will evince. Its laws instead of being more and more assimilated to those of a free country, have, from necessity, become more and more coercive. In 1826 the old "Code Rurale" or slave law was re-enacted with scarcely any alterations, except such as were necessary to adapt its expressions to the times. During Mr. Canning's administration, the mission of Mr. M'Kenzie as consul-general to Hayti, was specially directed to the purpose of obtaining correct and impartial evidence of the agricultural population. His "Notes on Hayti" fully attest an invincible repugnance to labour, and a consequent compulsion little short of that to which the slaves had been subjected previous to their emancipation. "The consequences of delinquency," he observes in speaking of labour, "are heavy fine and imprisonment; and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived. It is well known that every article of export, which required any comparative amount of labour has greatly diminished, while those of spontaneous growth, alone maintained their ground." In 1791 French St. Domingo exported one hundred and fifty thousand hogsheads of sugar, and sixty-eight millions of pounds of coffee, besides other produce equal in value to one-sixth as much more. In 1788 the island employed 580 ships. Average 325 tons each, in the European trade, 763 vessels. 73 American do. 357 vessels. 60 Spanish, &c., do.

The imports then amounted to twenty millions of dollars.

In 1822, near thirty years after the Revolution, no sugar was exported, and but little made and scarcely any production but coffee, which amounted to little more than half the export of 1791. The imports rather exceeded the exports in value. The standing army was twenty-five thousand men. The president's salary fifty thousand dollars; and heavy duties to support this expenditure were laid on articles exported—a mode of revenue surely contrary to sound government. The condition of the interior of this island is little known to strangers. It is difficult and even dangerous to penetrate inward far from the few towns on the coast. If any one has later and more favourable documents at hand, on which reliance can be placed, they will doubtless be acceptable to a public, ever looking on the progress of true freedom with a kindly feeling. But it is well known, that although professions on the part of some of the public officers of that island have been very sanguine, yet facts are scarce, and statistical do-

cuments perhaps still more rare.* We regret much that religious instruction and education have met with so little real encouragement, and that missionaries have even experienced open opposition from the government; and here we trace much of the difficulty. No doubt Hayti is in some essential points free, and will in time become so in all. But it has encountered many difficulties, and must many more (owing to its sudden emancipation,) before its eight hundred thousand inhabitants can become really a peaceful, industrious, and happy community. Many free coloured persons who have gone from this country, have, we know, returned in disgust, and given no favourable account of its condition. If now a free and happy state, why has not that species of emigration from this country been renewed, and the fertile plains and mountains drawn their thousands from hence, as our regions are drawing their annual contributions from the dissatisfied population of Europe? Can this be satisfactorily answered?

We often hear much of the noble example of Colombia as being decisive in favour of the safety and success of sudden emancipation. The facts however are these. To prevent the difficulty arising from a foe within, as well as to secure the hearty assistance of that portion of the community against the common enemy, during the Revolution,† laws were enacted providing for the gradual abolition of slavery. All children born after a certain day were to be free, and a legacy tax was established to purchase the slaves gradually. Bolivar, indeed, liberated seven hundred,

* In an extract from Admiral Fleming's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, we find a flattering account of Hayti, so far as his own opinion goes. He states that corporeal punishment is prohibited, and that the negroes there appeared the most comfortable he had seen. But as this would prove the state of society there, vastly in advance of his own ship, and as we happen to know that the gallant admiral is not always distinguished for his researches on shore, and as he gives assurance on the same authority that the population has trebled in thirty-two years!!! we must defer at present altering our opinion of the agricultural population of that island. But as the most amusing proof of the advanced state of civilization in Hayti, the admiral quotes the price of beef at two pence, while at Jamaica it is twelve pence. Now need we be informed that in uncultivated plains cattle are wild, and the trouble of catching is the only expense. But where is industry? where the farms large or small? where is any indication of an enlightened community in the regions of wild cattle? We have associated a rude semi-barbarian character with very cheap cattle; and the reverse, so far as the expenses of agriculture were marks of civilization. Witness the United Provinces of South America, the southern side of Cuba, St. Domingo, the south-western portion of Italy, the Highlands of Scotland, &c. In some of these, as in St. Domingo, cattle run wild, and cost only the expense of catching them. In the southern American provinces, the beef is actually thrown away, and we doubt not that a party of the Admiral's marines might have gone on shore not twenty miles from Port au Prince, and saved even the two pence per pound without defrauding a single farmer. But enough of the Admiral's sagacity. We trust that the cause of humanity rests on sounder principles of evidence, and that the honourable Committee will not be always so mechanical in their structure of categories, where we look for solid information.

† M. Ravenga.

and others followed his example. But the army afforded, we may believe, an immediate and well disciplined employment for those who were thus emancipated. The blacks and Indians thus gradually redeemed from slavery, composed rather less than one-third of the whole population, and the tenure of service imposed upon the Indians, is well known to have occasioned less personal servitude than with the former. This case is often quoted without proper explanation.

But let us suppose that the negroes of the slave states are fitted for immediate emancipation, and that all experience had been in favour, instead of against the propriety of such a measure, are we in a position to effect it, consistently with the rights of the white inhabitants of the same states? There is no point more clearly settled than that by law, the slaves are the property of the master so far as we can nationally interfere. We speak not of the justifiable grounds of such a law, but simply of the fact; and if we say the natural injustice of such a law renders it a fraud and therefore void, we should consider that the Almighty from Sinai issued the following law to the Israelites. "Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land, and they shall be your *possession*." Would we not imply by such language that this law being an infraction of natural right must also have been void? If it is said that man cannot confer the right of holding in bondage, but the Almighty may, this surely cuts it off from the class of actions termed immoral. At all events it is in vain to urge such a right as paramount in our case to a legal interest, which will be respected, and with which as a nation we cannot interfere. If our laws and institutions are good for any thing in one instance, they must be so in another. An evil established by law must be got rid of by law, and public opinion must precede in that community such a measure, before it can prevail. This species of legal property has been held under the sanction of all the charters and treaties and constitutions and enactments to which, as collective nations or as individuals, we have ever looked for security of rights and property. If in the course of moral light and advancement, it appears that an untenable guarantee has been given; and that natural rights must be without delay ceded to the oppressed, in defiance of legal title to the contrary, and the new posture of affairs demands that immediate reparation be made to injured humanity, then the party, guaranteed by the invalid title, will at all events, demand a full indemnity. It cannot be avoided, and our civil polity remain entire. It is a singular specimen of reasoning in a circle, to assume the advance of public opinion as the ground on which a law long respected becomes suddenly void; and then to urge the fraudulent nature of the law as the best means of ad-

vancing public opinion. It would seem almost superfluous to spend words in establishing this position, but the ground is openly taken, that what could not be granted without fraud, implies a participation in the fraud; and then the assumed rule is applied unhesitatingly to the present case. But again, how singular are the double expedients of ingenuity! Lest a flaw should be discovered, we are met with a reserve argument. At all events, we are informed, an unlawful exercise of authority on the part of slave owners as a body has vitiated the contract. We shall return to this argument again, and will now merely advert to the decision of one of the first jurists of this or any age, in a country where civil rights are at least as well understood as in our own, and where this very question has undergone a thorough investigation. In a case, involving much more of doubt Lord Stowell has set the matter entirely at rest. It is well known that in the celebrated case of the "*Slave Somerset*," Lord Mansfield had decided that his arriving in England and touching British ground produced immediate freedom; and that no such slave could again be coerced into bondage. In our own compact of Union, therefore, it is expressly stipulated, that slaves found in a free state may be recovered as such. About six years since, it was questioned in England whether a slave once in this state of freedom, and returning to bondage, could be retained. For, it was said a slave trade from the mother country to the colonies was of course illegal, and yet such a trade was implied in re-entering bondage after freedom in England. The question involved the personal liberty of all slaves who had ever been in England, and of all the descendants of such, amounting doubtless to many thousands. Intense interest was excited, and to give the subject all its importance, government became the party against the owner. The Collector of Antigua was instructed to take charge of all slaves in that island who had ever touched British soil, and their descendants, for the purpose of testing their freedom. The case was tried in the Admiralty Court, and being given in favour of the owner, was appealed home. The "*Slave Grace*" was entered as a trial case, and every step was taken in her favour, which the warmest and highest defenders of emancipation could suggest. Lord Stowell gave his whole mind to the question. His decision in this case, which was then considered by all parties as final on the question of legal rights, pronounced the *Slave Grace* the property of her reputed owners. This decision, one of the last and noblest monuments of a judicial mind which has given law to the world, is well worth the perusal of all, who, in the intensity of feeling, would pass hastily over the claims of vested rights in a civilized community.

We are not blind to the course which the argument for reform is now taking in the world. It is however a momentous topic,

and not yet sufficiently defined, or its extent sufficiently ascertained, to become a practical principle. It is assumed, in the particular case of Great Britain, that, because her legislative authority may entertain the question of a speedy extinction of slavery, she will really effect it without compensation. It is asserted, that in disfranchising the smaller boroughs, in the late measure of reform, no compensation was made for claims sanctioned by law—that in the church reform, to be commenced in Ireland, and to be continued in England, the property and legal rights of individuals, to an immense amount, will be invaded without a personal equivalent; and perhaps it may be added, by another class of politicians within the precincts of St. Stephen, that the national debt must be subjected to a similar reform. It is inferred from these data, that in a civilized nation, whenever it is found that the laws had protected that which moral advancement proves to be unworthy of such protection, public opinion alone may demand a legal revolution without compensation: in other words, that when individuals refuse to yield voluntarily to the monitory suasion of the national conscience, enlightened by increased knowledge, the majority may compel submission. Thus it would appear, that a positive revolution, to gain a moral advantage for the whole, may be rightfully sustained without respect to the weaker party. We know not how far this doctrine may be resolved into a new political axiom, or revert, when stripped of all disguise, to the long established usage, that power gives right. But this is evident, so far as England is concerned in the progress of moral reformation, that only one of the above infringements has yet occurred, and that in a system of corruption and bribery carried on, not under legal sanction, but directly in the face of its penalties; and it waited only the due power of public opinion to declare legally the forfeiture. It is evident also, that within these three years, the boldest opposer of slavery, to be found in England, did not question for a moment the right to compensation for property, lost in the process of emancipation. Nor has the English government ever sanctioned the contrary for a moment. But admitting that England has established this doctrine fully, how does the case apply to us? Legislation emanates there from parliament; here from each state. What is there done by that authority, can in a parallel way be done here only by each state for itself. To complete the parallel, public opinion must prevail in the same way in each respective state before the same kind of right can exist. We need not aver that South Carolina or Virginia, for instance, bear no such relation to our Federal government as Demerara or Barbadoes bear to the British government, one of which is governed by the king in council, and the laws of the other requiring the assent of the monarch before they can be permanently in force. But again, if they were,

we would have still to prove that our two millions are as well prepared for emancipation as the eight hundred thousand slaves of the British colonies; and that we can as speedily command our forty thousand of regular troops to insure a peaceable result to the daring experiment.

If law, therefore, with the inhabitants of the United States, carries in it any meaning intelligible to a free people, this species of property must be reimbursed, if taken *forcibly* from the owner. Now, can we as a nation make such a purchase, or shall we proceed by force? In addition to the slaves themselves, a vast amount of property has been invested under the sanction of the same laws; and which, if rendered unavailable by the sudden abolition of slavery, would present strong claims for indemnity. But omitting this almost incalculable amount of capital, let us consider only the two millions of slaves at the estimate of one hundred dollars each, and whence could be obtained in a country convulsed under the pressure of an overwhelming moral and civil revolution, the immense sum of two hundred millions of dollars? Yet it must be done, or we rob with one hand to pay with the other. But again—admit that the funds are provided, can the slave owners be compelled to part with their slaves, and allow a population to be thrown suddenly upon their care, while precluded from that measure of restraint, which they imagine, with some show of reason, would be tenfold more requisite than even now? Is it likely that, composing as they do, so powerful an interest in our national councils, any such measure could be obtained? On this point nothing is more plainly demonstrable than that any unpopular measure, any compulsory step, urged by the free upon the slave-holding states, against their will, would produce immediate dissolution of the Union, and cut off effectually every hope of influence. Civil war, then, would be the only resort—a species of crusade not very likely to be undertaken by all or any of the free states against their white brethren, in the cause of natural rights. It must then be seen, in these various aspects, that practically considered, slavery is at present a necessary evil, and as such we must meet it. The immediate removal is an impossibility.

Pursuing the course we have prescribed for our present article, we proceed to inquire, is slavery an evil of which nothing is to be said, and towards the reduction of which nothing is to be done? The question of its entire removal, whether at an early or more remote period, we have purposely separated from that of present duty as to the evil itself. The various places, and their attendant advantages and difficulties, would (if only slightly touched) occupy a larger space than we can claim for the whole subject. We conceive then that something, nay much, may be done. And as very mistaken views prevail on this point resulting principally

from ignorance of the whole ground, we shall now attempt to remove them. That slavery is not only a moral evil, but is physically and politically an evil, the very magnitude of which is truly appalling and rapidly increasing in extent, is now so generally conceded that proof is unnecessary. Of the moral tendency of this institution, subject as it is to all the abuses of individual power, unrestrained by opinion, principle, or law, the southern portion of our country well knows, though much blinded by familiarity to the extent of its actual influence on character. At the North, accustomed as we are, to draw rapid conclusions from individual facts, we need not to have here exhibited before us, instances of shameless brutality to acquaint us with the moral degradation which has attended this unhappy system. We annex to our general idea of slavery individual instances of cruelty, and thus forgetting that such judgment is hasty, though the instances were a thousand times multiplied, we need rather to have our conceptions defined than extended. This evil we have no disposition to palliate; or to rob the picture of one single touch which the hand of truth has there delineated. But we do know, from our own experience, that much as slave owners have laid themselves open to reproach, the rebuke should not fall upon all; nor do the frightful miseries so often portrayed before us, convey a true description of the whole slave population, a large portion of which we assert (without fear of contradiction from those acquainted with facts,) possesses those sources of enjoyment and that freedom from care, which may fairly entitle all such to the epithet *contented*, a contentment, we admit, of a low degree, resting on sense rather than on the intellect. The grand, the difficult desideratum is to exchange this for a higher, a moral happiness. *Inhumanity*, whenever it does occur, must lie at the door of the perpetrator. The system renders these instances easy and frequent, not necessary.

At the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the admission of the slave states into the Union was no sanction of the right of slavery, no admission even of there being any such right in existence, as has been vainly urged by those who are unacquainted with our peculiar circumstances as a collective nation. As well might we say, that Rhode Island or Massachusetts is now sanctioning the principle of slave-trading, because they have, within their precincts, citizens who are living on the proceeds of that commerce, and who are variously employing, at this moment, vast amounts of capital derived from the same source. This toleration of the fact, not the principle, was the only ground on which a Union could be formed. Those who had the misfortune to inherit this species of supposed legal property, contended that the relinquishment of this ground would involve them in total ruin; and although in some measure aware of the dead weight of

slavery on the moral and physical energies of a people, it appeared to them no other than a question of self-preservation. *Noli me tangere* was all the toleration they stipulated for, and on no other basis could the Union have possibly been formed. The whole debate, therefore, was rather between *union with slavery* and *disunion with slavery*, than whether slavery should exist. In either case, there was no power to prevent the evil itself. That the result in the general Constitution was a wise one, or that our compacts with various other nations tolerating slavery are wise, few will deny. Whether the respective states have been equally wise, in allowing the slave list to swell from 697,697 in 1790, to 2,010,436 in 1830, without any effective measures to eradicate or even to limit the evil, is another affair, and not within our present discussion. They are now alive to the fatal discovery, that this unhappy institution is a growing incubus upon every civil community where it is sustained—a political evil—and what we of the North have long seen, they now feel, and will soon at every nerve. The last census is awakening several of these states to activity by the appalling proportion and rapidity of increase of this population. The surprising energies put forth by the new free states, their unparalleled success and vigorous growth, have demonstrated, beyond all question, the superiority of the two conditions in every point of view. Facts open the eyes, when theory would only close them. Side by side are the two states of Kentucky and Ohio. No traveller can pass through these regions without marking the difference. No Kentuckian can cross the waters of the Ohio, without sighing at the contrast; and no citizen of Ohio can even look across his southern boundary, without realizing a practical and triumphant commentary upon the law of 1787, which taking its stand on his noble river, has said to slavery, “hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther.” The following animated effusion from an ardent South Carolinian, on his return from a tour to the North, will be responded to by many who dwell in the dark land of southern bondage. “We may shut our eyes and avert our faces, if we please, but there it is—the dark and growing evil at our doors; and meet the question we must, at no distant day. Of this I am very sure—that the difference, nothing short of frightful, between all that exists on one side the Potomac, and all that exists on the other, is owing to that cause alone. The disease is deep-rooted. It is at the heart’s core, and it is consuming, and has all along been consuming our vitals. And I could laugh, (if I could laugh on such a subject), at the ignorance and folly of the politician, who ascribes that to an act of government, which is the inevitable effect of the eternal laws of nature. What is to be done? Something must be done?” (*Richmond Enquirer.*)

The act of Louisiana, prohibiting the importation of slaves

into that state, under a heavy penalty, except when the proprietor himself is removing into the state, speaks volumes.

The depreciation of property in most of the old slave states, so far as it has been distinctly traced by the inhabitants themselves, to the wasteful cultivation of the soil by slave labour, is of itself strong evidence; and the rapid removal of enterprising whites to other parts of the Union exempt from this overwhelming weight, is equally decisive. Add to this the evident disposition of Virginia, Maryland, and even Kentucky, to meet the question boldly, and to prune with no sparing hand, and we have ample testimony that the pressure is felt. Virginia, possessing alone nearly one-fourth of the whole slave population, has already debated in her legislature the very principle of slavery and its extinction. *She cannot go back.**

Under this evidence, we affirm that something, nay much may be done. To the question, *why has so little been done?* it may be answered, that jealousy has been a strong barrier to any alleviation or removal of the evil, while self-interest remained blind to the necessity of such measures. Those immediately concerned, would never do that with vigour, of the propriety of which they were but half convinced, and of the expediency, not at all. And they would never allow it to be done for them, when the motives of those, who might have been disposed to legislate, appeared but doubtful, and their interests diametrically opposite. But now the scene is much changed. The film which self-interest had drawn over the moral vision, is about being torn away by its own hand. And we affirm, that it is now doubly incumbent that all unjustifiable cause of distrust should be removed—that we meet our brethren of the South, deeply sympathizing with them under the accumulating load of moral pressure, which is weighing them down in the dust—that we calmly discuss with them the various remedies proposed—that we stand ready with our means and our exertions, to assist in any rational and humane method of alleviating their distresses, while we seek the welfare of the slave. We affirm, and we have ground for so doing, that such a disposition, if founded on sincerity, and steadily sustained, will be reciprocated in time, very generally, and jealousies be much removed.

But the question returns:—what is our present duty as members generally of a professedly free and enlightened community? and in reply, (observing the distinction before made and the course marked out) we shall touch upon the following topics:—1. Free discussion. 2. Religious instruction. 3. Colonization Society. 4. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

1. Free discussion, on the whole ground, should be encouraged

* Vide Review, December, article Slavery in Virginia.

throughout the Union. The North has a perfect right to this, and the South will not act with sound policy until it is tolerated. These discussions should be conducted fearlessly, but fairly, in the public journals, every where. The wound should be probed and deeply. The case demands it, and a bold but steady hand is required for the operation. It is worse than folly, it is madness, to suppose that silence can be long or extensively preserved, or that if possible, it would be the wisest course. Those who have been born and educated amidst slavery, and those who know it only in theory, have alike their prejudices, and these are alas! deeply rooted. Nothing will so well break down this double wall, and advance the cause of alleviation and final removal, as a mutual and free discussion. The dissemination of enlightened opinions will be the natural and necessary result:—truth will be elicited, and sound and sober views prevail more extensively among both parties. But this discussion, though free, should not be from zeal without knowledge. The design should not be alone to attack and defend; not to alarm or irritate, but to convince. And the effect should not be to injure but to assist. If two millions of slaves are to be raised—four millions of whites are not to be depressed. If the work is laudable, every inducement should be urged for co-operation, and no obstacle or hindrance of any kind, placed in the path. If such were the general disposition, an energy might be put forth on this question, calm and convincing, but steady and powerful. The occasional over-heated zeal of a few, would be much overlooked, and the great interests of humanity would advance.

A remarkable instance in point may be mentioned. Ten years since, Mr. Wilberforce brought forward in the British parliament, the petition of the Friends for the abolition of slavery, and up to that time, in the principal of the British West India islands, discussion on this subject was considered dangerous in the extreme. In a coloured population of twenty to one, it was taken for granted, that the public use of certain words even, would be no less ill-advised than the use of firebrands. In all the newspapers sensitive words were implied; e——n, stood for emancipation, &c. A public weekly print was established by a slave owner, (a member of the Island Legislature) upon the principles of free discussion. The inhabitants stared, a thousand fearful evils were prognosticated. But the example spread, and all the other newspapers soon followed. Not one of the dreaded events ensued, although every proposed measure for amelioration, every scheme from the warmest of the English emancipators, was freely canvassed. The public soon became rightly informed; friends of improvement, experienced and discerning, found an unknown unity of sentiment, and various public measures have been in due course, peaceably carried into operation,

of which the admission of slave evidence, and the full admission of free coloured persons to the privileges of the white inhabitants, have not been the least. At no time had that island, (notwithstanding its declining prosperity from other causes) been more free from alarms; and, had it not been for circumstances entirely distinct, it would doubtless have remained so, although more than half its militia is composed of free coloured inhabitants. We say not that free discussion has accomplished this, but it prepared the way for inevitable events.

Again, we assume also the position as exceedingly important, that a marked and permanent distinction should, in all instances, be kept up between all exertions used to promote emancipation, and such as are put forth for moral and religious improvement in the condition of the slave. The efforts bearing upon the subject of slavery, whether originating at the south or north, must be connected with the one or the other topic. And it is indispensable for the welfare of free and bond, that the two be on no account mingled. We hope to establish this point beyond dispute. The ground itself is distinct. If difficulties be raised in the way of emancipation, which cannot be at once removed or controlled, the improvement in the actual condition of the slave, may go forward on its own basis, unconnected with the progress of the other question. Moral efforts are, and should be, here, distinct from those affecting political condition; we have united them, and therefore both are stationary. If we could see it fairly established, that the civil state of the slave debarred him from the sources and privileges of moral and religious enjoyment, we should feel compelled to give our remarks a different tone, and should rejoice in seeing the oppressed go free on any terms, but we know from an experience of some extent that the contrary is the fact. In the work of relieving the slave population from its yoke, were the disposition ever so strong, nothing direct could be effected by any justifiable means, except by the slave-holding states themselves. It is in vain to attempt a denial of this position; it is matter of fact. We have had read to us, some startling admonitions upon the subject of respective rights. The distinction must inevitably become more plainly marked, and more narrowly watched; and in this question, no one has ever doubted that the whole *power* rests in the several states. Even with the constitution amended on this article by universal consent, we can scarcely conceive of general legislation and appropriations of public money, extending beyond the two points of gradual purchase and colonization. But even these can only be effected by the most cordial co-operation of the South, and the time may not be far distant, when, by suitable means, public opinion may be turned this way. Parenthetically, we might here observe, that if Congress had, from 1790, been em-

powered to make a very moderate annual appropriation for the purchase of the female infants of slaves, and taken no other measures, slavery would be now little more than a name, and twenty years hence all but extinct.

To the states then individually, we must commit the work of legislation, because the power does and can exist no where else. They are the natural guardians of their own rights and interests, are best acquainted with the various and conflicting circumstances of the case; and so soon as it becomes their apparent interest, they will assuredly act. For us to attempt it before, or to goad them on by irritating abuse, will, beyond question, retard every measure calculated to benefit the slave, and fix the now loosening prejudices of the owner, still more deeply. If we keep open the avenues of moral influence, and by fair discussion canvass with Christian interest, the various motives, which we conceive should weigh with the free population, in regulating its measures and policy towards the sons of bondage—if we use also, such other means, as we can fairly put in motion, we, as a nation, are clear from their sins. If, as individuals, they still persist in their infractions of the plain and unchangeable laws of moral obligation, the blood be upon their own heads, and not upon ours. If they can even be proved to be violating such laws, by the simple holding in bondage, under all the circumstances of the case, we contend that as a nation, we are not answerable. We have never admitted the right—never sustained it, and have no more excuse for going one step beyond moral influence, than we have for making war upon China or Russia, because their inhabitants do not enjoy the full immunities of republican freedom. We have felt it necessary to allude to this, more than once, because we are often told that if we arm not in this contest, the sins of slavery are upon us and upon our children. We plead therefore strongly for the distinction laid down.

2. Of the further duties, however, which seem to devolve upon us before we have done all, and can discharge our consciences of guilt in the participation of this abiding evil, we proceed to name *religious instruction*. We are aware that this is touching tender and disputed ground; but we trust that our case will become plainer as we proceed. It is necessary in the outset to be properly understood; and we would here disconnect religious instruction from every other species of education, even reading. We plead not for distributing books; we know that a missionary among slaves must be an evangelist *sui generis*. Though not missionaries, we know from observation of some extent, that such instruction can be imparted, and the consolations of the gospel wholly proclaimed orally. That equal proficiency cannot be aimed at, we all know; but every thing needful for salvation, and patient endurance of sufferings and privations, can be com-

municated, by such means, when no better can be obtained; and we hope to prove that instead of making the literary means of religion a *sine qua non*, it is far better to go forward, as the primitive Christians before the New Testament was written, or as missionaries are now compelled to do, where there is no written language. This will be made evident by facts; the argument need not detain us.

But we find the whole project resisted from various and the most opposite quarters. On the one hand, we hear that the planters reason thus: "Religion is bottomed upon freedom, and it is therefore impossible to instruct the slaves in one, without touching the other. To instruct them in any thing is to enlighten them; knowledge of any kind is power, and if once they ascertain the extent of human faculties and of man's ever-expanding destiny, nothing will restrain them from asserting personal freedom." Thus it is imagined, that religion would unfit the slave for his dependent and coerced condition. Others, wanting confidence in the religious teachers, and misapprehending the design of the faithful minister of the gospel, fears the secret influence, the insidious advice in favour of liberty. Elsewhere we find the opinion, firm as a rock, that the slave-owner will not allow any such instruction to be given on any terms, and that to attempt the measure against prejudices so strong, and backed by such arbitrary power, would be fruitless. In another quarter, we find the opinion avowedly entertained, that no Christian can hold a slave in bondage under any circumstances. By such, therefore, any measures, which would, however indirectly, sanction the idea that slavery might be justifiably continued, would be considered as temporizing with the subject, and with conscience; and any thing short of immediate emancipation would not be tolerated for a moment.

Now, in opposition to these opinions, we take our firm stand. Nothing, we assert, from observation, can avail so much to promote the interests and the security of the master, as the prevalence of religious principle among the slaves; and the time is not far distant—we say it with confidence—when the encouragement of simple religious instruction, will become evidently consistent with sound policy and ordinary prudence. The fact of present opposition on the part of the proprietors, has arisen chiefly from two causes—the improper means often used under the garb of religious teaching, and secondly, a misapprehension of the nature and tendency of Christianity itself. On the first head, had religious instruction been imparted by those, who were capable of understanding its obligations, and of communicating their knowledge to others; had the labour fallen upon men, who could keep themselves aloof from the civil condition of the slave, and address themselves directly to the interests of his soul, without

swerving from this grand point, all might have been well. But we much regret that the Swartzs and the Brainards of the present day have, from misunderstanding on both sides, been compelled to seek for other fields of labour. The mind and the heart of man, however, even in the most degraded condition, are formed for some species of moral influence; and if pure and undefiled religion is not presented to the negroes, they seize with avidity upon superstition and fanaticism, and become the disciples of designing and artful men, who assume the province of teachers, with no other qualifications but plausibility and high but false pretension. These teachers are not confined to uneducated whites; coloured persons, sometimes with, but oftener without any evidence of piety, have entered this fruitful field, and strange and impolitic as it may seem, have been tolerated where a religious teacher, amply qualified for the office, would have obtained no footing.

Nothing else than the fatal results of so short-sighted a policy, can open fully the eyes of those who are so deeply interested in these subjects. Instead of religion, the slave is initiated into mysteries which inflame his imagination, and pervert his judgment, and subject him to the blind guidance of his leader, to be used for gain, or the purposes of fanaticism, as the occasion may require. It does not follow that all these are destitute of the piety they profess, but few are without strong and deep-rooted prejudices, and perverted views of Christian duty. Now, legal enactments can never fully prevent this evil. It may become more concealed from threatening penalties, but cannot be arrested. The existence of the fact is clearly a proof that enlightened missionaries are not sufficiently tolerated. Is it not therefore better to encourage those who, as pious teachers of religion, will pledge themselves to interfere in no way, directly or indirectly, with the civil condition of the slave, and who, as men of education and honour, are likely to keep a pledge so given? Such persons, when competent to the task, are responsible men with character at stake, and have means, which most other whites have not, of counteracting the designs and prejudices almost every where advancing, under the semblance of religion. The works of such men seek the light, and may on all occasions be watched and regulated. But not so with the class to which we have alluded: they avoid exposure, and deeds and doctrines of darkness are spread around them. A strong proof of this may be adduced. In a slave community, some years since, a law having been passed preventing missionary labours, one city, with a large slave population, was peculiarly alive in putting down the supposed evil. It was soon found, however, that the places of honest missionaries were supplied by plausible but irresponsible persons of colour; and so great were the consequent irregulari-

ties, that, in a few years, the law was repealed at the express instance of the city alluded to, and the re-entrance of missionaries was found to be not only the cure, but the prevention of like disorders. A law recently enacted in Georgia, provides that no coloured person shall engage in preaching or exhortation, or as a class-leader. This shows the opinion there entertained, and the existence of such a fact; and we contend that the encouragement of educated and responsible ministers, would avail much more than legal enactments, to eradicate any real evil which may be found to exist. The more severe the laws, the more secret the evasion is likely to be, with evil-disposed persons.

The question now occurs, are we to suppose that slavery itself, distinguished from its abuses, is so diametrically opposed to the direct requisitions of the Bible, that a Christian cannot engage in such a mission, without interfering, in his instructions, with the civil institutions, as established by law? It is absolutely necessary, (to ensure success,) that this point be definitively settled in the mind of every missionary, before he attempt this work. If he decide in the affirmative, he may as well relinquish every hope of practical usefulness, and abandon the field altogether. It can never be expected, that men alive to the ordinary feelings of self-interest and self-preservation, will ever consent to commit a political suicide. To obtain encouragement, or even toleration among the planters of the South, the Christian minister, who turns his attention to the spiritual welfare of slaves, must make an entire separation between the moral and civil condition of his charge. Though he find this separation painful, and his path beset with difficulties, from civil degradation; though his heart be sometimes torn with anguish at individual acts of brutal oppression, which may pass under his cognizance—he must be firm to his purpose of non-interference, and follow with single aim his one and all-absorbing design. This may require self-denial, and severe control over his warmest sympathies: but his sphere of usefulness will be proportionably enlarged, and he will find his reward in due time, if he faint not. A single act of indiscretion might largely impair the fairest prospects of missionary usefulness. That the pious teacher, in such a field, should pursue this course, and may do it on the plainest Scripture ground, whatever may be his own views concerning the subject of slavery itself, will be perceived on a very slight attention to this point. As matter of fact, the vast results which have attended the missionary efforts in the British West Indies, especially in the islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, are mainly attributable to this precaution; and one of the most rigid of the instructions laid down by the missionary societies, is that which prescribes non-interference with the civil condition of the

slave. Let any one compare the progress of the gospel there, with that in our own land, and much of the surprising difference, under circumstances even less favourable, has arisen from this wise regulation. In Jamaica alone, when the missionaries were recently disturbed in their labours, we are credibly informed that, in a coloured population of 350,000, the various denominations numbered 40,000 church members, and at least 80,000 more of serious inquirers. The instruction is, however, entirely oral, no one being taught to read, where the least objection is made. Opposed to this, indeed, ground is usually taken upon such passages of the Bible, as tend rather to show the final results of Christianity, than to prescribe rules for the mode of their accomplishment. It is then assumed, that, whatever of Scripture may seem to waive the question of direct interference, supposes the slavery then existing, as totally different in character from the modern institution, and unspeakably milder. Those, however, acquainted with history, know that Roman slavery, at the time of the introduction of Christianity, gave the master unlimited control even over the life of the slave; and the fact that when an owner died without apparent cause, all his slaves were usually put to death, will sufficiently illustrate its nature.

We object entirely to such a mode of arguing, and to the inference that it is a gross act of iniquity to retain in bondage a fellow being under any circumstances. Disapproving totally as we do of slavery, and anxious as we are that it may speedily be done away from our country, and from the world, it is painful even to bear the semblance of defending its existence on any ground. But in justice to that portion of our community, who are unfortunately the involuntary participants in what appears to us its somewhat necessary continuance, we cannot pass over the fact. We feel bound to distinguish between the simple possession of slaves, and their mal-treatment; and when we admit that crime does exist, we wish the charge to fall where it is justly due, and there only.

Under the Jewish code, we find these very strong passages: and we name them (not to defend slavery) but simply to show the importance of more caution in language, when speaking of natural rights, which may not essentially differ, in different ages of the world. Exodus xxi. 20, 21, "And if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money.*" Leviticus xxv. 44, 45, 46, "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you,

which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever." But we are met with Exodus xxi. 16, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." On this passage, an impression has gone abroad that slave-owners are necessarily men-stealers: how hastily, every one will perceive who will consult the passage in its connexion. Being found in the chapter which authorizes this species of property among the Hebrews, it must of course relate to its full protection from the danger of being enticed away from its rightful owner. There is also no provision made for slaves (not of Hebrew origin) going free at the year of Jubilee. But to turn to the new dispensation, we do not find slave-owners ranked in the lists of those who are expressly forbidden the kingdom of heaven; and yet we might fairly expect this, if it implies of necessity a moral guilt, such as is often freely appended to it in the opinion of some. Why should "covetous and revilers" be mentioned, and men-stealers (if so) passed over. Now St. Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 21, "Art thou called being a servant (or slave) care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." Eph. vi. 5, "Servants be obedient to your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart," &c. St. Paul, after having converted the slave Onesimus, sends him back to his *Christian master* (observe this) saying, "without thy mind would I do nothing;" and acknowledges his right to the services of his slave, by offering to pay for his lost time. Would he have done this, if Philemon, as some in this day would infer, had been a "man-stealer," and not entitled to Christian communion, because he held a fellow being in legal bondage?

Now, we cheerfully admit, that clearer light has altered our perception of obligations of a moral character, and rendered that wrong now, in many cases, which might not have been so centuries, or even ten years ago. Any one will comprehend this case, by substituting, in Leviticus, a command to become intoxicated for that of buying slaves. We doubt not that any one who should use the command in the old, or even the implied permission in the new dispensation, as an argument for engaging in slavery, or continuing to hold slaves, where no circumstances of police, or other necessity require it, would sin; but we do aver, and fearlessly, that there may now be reasons of that imperious nature for a limited continuance of personal bondage, which shall clear the owner from all sin in the affair, except that of abusing the moral obligations he is under, in his treatment of his slave. To the cruel slave owner, the Bible addresses itself, directly, on the ground of God's moral law, and, in the spirit of

the gospel, it forbids unlimited bondage; but it interferes not with political institutions, except by its tendency, which looks, we doubt not, to the ultimate emancipation and moral advancement of all mankind. Now, let the Christian missionary follow this example of non-interference. Let him preach the gospel, and the horrors of slavery will cease, before the institution itself can perhaps entirely and peacefully disappear, and equal rights prevail. It will hasten the joyful event, and prepare the way for the event itself. Political emancipation, with all its difficulties, is a work for the philanthropist and the legislator, and must occupy their attention. The minister of Christ has the soul to emancipate: an all absorbing object demanding his immediate undivided attention. The obligations of Christianity are contained in the precept—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." This comprehends an even-handed justice; it defends the master; it defends the slave; it restrains the master; it restrains the slave; and we believe that where the one is unfitted for freedom, it will retain him from, but in a state of preparation for it. It restrains also our own national conduct to both, and it rouses us to act by just means towards both. If oppression on the part of the owner ceases, and his heart is Christianized, surely the oppressed has gone free, whether retained (from overruling circumstances) in temporary bondage or not. Suppose every owner in the slave states were to receive the gospel in his heart, and understand clearly its obligations in the ultimate emancipation of his slaves, how rapidly he would feel himself bound to press forward in the benevolent career, must be left to circumstances, and to conscience. To rush madly on, with inconsiderate steps, to accomplish suddenly a vast revolution in society, would be proof rather of Christian zeal, than of Christian knowledge. The same act of immediate freedom by all, would inevitably work a fearful inroad upon the cause of humanity. But if the divine injunctions plainly demand, (as we are informed,) that no parley should be held with consequences: if, as we are told, the loss of a few hundred thousand lives, in the experiment, will soon be made up without detriment: if personal bondage, distinct from personal oppression, stands upon the same footing with intemperance or theft, it should be met as unsparingly. If, in fine, we have now satisfactorily shown, that a Christian may, under some circumstances, hold slaves in limited bondage, provided he exercise no personal oppression, he is assuredly bound to communicate to them the blessings of the gospel; and as surely too, will it follow, that a Christian missionary may do the same, and address himself to this state of society, conscientiously avoiding all interference with natural rights, and yet not even compromise any opinion he may entertain as to the nature of those rights.

Several reasons occur for prosecuting with vigour, on some systematic plan, the religious instruction of slaves. First, it is for the interest of the master. If the tendency of Christianity is to soften the heart, to curb the passions, to promote fidelity in the various departments of domestic life;—if it alters, directly, no man's civil condition, but adapts itself to his peculiar wants, wherever he is;—if its injunctions are plainly in favour of order, obedience to authority, and quiet submission to all lawful commands;—if it commends patience under suffering and trial, where can the master find an equal safeguard? The severest laws, the sternest deportment, the most scrutinizing eye cannot obtain that control which conscience, supported by its eternal sanctions, will acquire over the conduct of the Christian. Severity may long smother the evil, but cannot remove it; and, on a favourable opening, it breaks forth with increased acrimony. Again: its influence on the master himself, will be favourable to the cause of humanity. When he sees his dependants guided by principle, instead of eye-service, can he remain uninfluenced by the change in those around him? Will not his conduct towards them bend, instinctively, to the altered motive? All know that the faithful slave is almost universally esteemed and well treated. These are often of pious character, *which, it has been fully and repeatedly admitted by the enemies of religion, does not interfere with the fidelity of the slave.* Let the number of these be increased, and the course of treatment must be altered, even if no higher motive guides the master, than usually prevails towards the slave population. But the effects on the white population do not cease here. The slave being, in proportion to his progress in Christian motive, steadfastly restrained from vice, the restraint re-acts also upon those under whose control he is placed. The appetites and passions cannot be ministered to in the same way as before. Many a check will be given to the movements of vice and passion, which, although here and there irritating to the brutal master, in the full career of unbridled authority and lust, must claim and receive, in calmer moments, and with calmer minds, that respect which moral superiority will assuredly command under any circumstances.

But if religion bears upon the interests of the owner, what are we to say of its effects upon the condition of the slave? He is doubly advanced in his welfare, and sees that not only his present peace and happiness will be much promoted by religious principle, but that his prospects for another world will compensate him for the many privations and sufferings attendant upon his unenviable lot below. He can wait in the patient endurance of wrongs without murmuring or repining, and as his course draws to a close, his prospect brightens. He has never an accumulated reckoning to harass and goad him on to turbulence;

Christian forgiveness has settled the account progressively. If there is any lot in life to which the power and consolations of the gospel come with more appropriateness than to another, it is to that of the slave. It soothes his sorrows, gains in general the confidence of his master, restrains useless expense, and increases domestic comforts, curbs evil habits and passions, before unbridled, and gives him a peace which the world can neither give nor take away. We speak here, too, from unbiassed observation, gathered from personal and extended intercourse of years.

The negro population is at present as a mass deplorably destitute of religious knowledge and instruction. With partial exceptions this class of our community has been deprived of the means which are elsewhere so bountifully enjoyed in our land. Either superstition has largely taken up the ground which a purer belief should occupy, or there is nothing but a deplorable moral waste, where immortal interests are concerned. Of their accountability to their maker they are practically ignorant; in the larger portion of the agricultural regions of the South, very few have the slightest notions of the Christian's hope. Is there no call, no obligation upon the benevolent of our land to come forward in this cause of true Christian charity? We appeal with calm but unbending confidence.

There is a peculiar predisposition, however, among the slaves for such instruction, not from mistaken views of any supposed connexion with freedom, but from the extent of their moral wants. As with an audience of seamen, so with them; truth of a religious nature, ministering to their wants, falls with unaccustomed force. There is no sophistry there to contend with—none of the deadening influence of habit. The heart is unprepared for the attack, and surrenders without capitulation. We have known a congregation of fifteen hundred coloured persons quietly collected on the Sabbath, neatly dressed, and with riveted attention listening to the news of a Saviour from a preacher of finished education and polished mind, but one who understood human nature, and felt the spiritual wants of his audience. And we have known of another preacher, whose discouragements overcame him because his hearers were bond, and because he could not instruct them in reading. His audience gradually deserted him, saying he did not tell them of Christ, and he left the field in disgust. Proofs of this disposition might be largely multiplied did the occasion demand it.

The slave states then, we contend, should become missionary ground in every sense of the word. Whatever arguments will apply to such labours in any portion of the globe, come with redoubled force here. Whether slavery is for years to continue and rapidly increase, or whether the respective states will take measures to abolish this evil more or less speedily from our

land, is of no consequence to the immediate question of the moral welfare of the slave. The passage of the soul into eternity; its appearance before the presence of its maker; is surely sufficiently disconnected from the civil institution of slavery to awaken our sympathies and arrest our separate attention. Their religious advancement too should be immediately sought, that they may be better fitted for whatever condition awaits them. Increase the prevalence of religious principle in master and slave, and when Christian truth holds its sway, the result will be proportionably happy and safe. The one will be enabled to soften, and the other to tolerate the necessary evils of delay; and when freedom shall come, which it requires no prophet's eye to discern in years before us, then will the one be better prepared to grant, and the other enjoy the boon.

To these missionary labours, there would be several important facilities. Similarity of language leaves no occasion for tedious and expensive preparation. The field is immediately opened, and the labourer enters upon his work with no harassing delay. The close vicinity is a second. There is no long and costly voyage and heavy outfit to be sustained, before a single movement can be made; the missions would be near, even at our doors. The sum expended upon one foreign mission would support several in the South. Those employed in this cause would, from their experience and success, encourage all who are doubting and hesitating whether here or there. The funds for such an object might be more abundant and more readily collected than for any benevolent purpose now before the public. Once let the Christian community throughout the Union be persuaded that a safe and practicable door is opened for the relief of the moral wants of these two millions within our own borders, and there is no channel into which their sympathies would so cheerfully and steadily flow. The whole Union is becoming more and more deeply interested in the question; the effort only is required. We stand idle, because no one hath called us.

It is true, we may here be met with the old objection. The slave states, it is said, will never consent to the free admission of religious teachers. It is true the South will not accomplish the work, or support of themselves any religious means adequate to the purpose. This cannot be expected: their prejudices are too strong; and the necessity of the measure for security, and its obligation as a moral object, are not yet apprehended by the great mass of our southern brethren. But if a responsible body of missionaries—for such they must be in every sense of the word—are devoted to the cause, and commence in suitable and allowed stations, with proper views, there can be little doubt that prejudice will in time yield before them, and their sphere of usefulness be rapidly enlarged.

It is not the purpose of this article to lay plans of operation; but something like the following may be suggested in this connexion. A national society should be established for southern missions, having auxiliaries in each slave state. This society, if possible, should combine all, of whatever denomination, who are anxious for the spiritual welfare of this interesting portion of our southern population, and willing to go forward upon the fundamental principle, real and avowed, of non-interference with the civil condition of slavery as established by law. The missionaries of this society should be governed by explicit and rigidly enforced instructions to the same effect. The donations might be applied to missionaries of such denominations as were designated in the gifts. We have little doubt that a steady responsibility, thus resting on this portion of Christian ministers, would gradually remove the dark and unfounded prejudices which have grown out of the misguided zeal of irresponsible agents.

Should this plan be impracticable at present, we would call the attention of all existing missionary societies to the principle here adduced. It has, in relation to slavery in the British West Indies, caused thousands and thousands to rejoice for ever; and though prejudices have not been yet removed—it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, *that in fifteen years, no such success has attended the history of missions in any portion of the globe, the Sandwich Islands not excepted.* This we know—that favourable indications are appearing in the South. The friends of religion are rapidly multiplying; and among them are slave owners. In one state there exists more than one county society for the religious instruction of slaves, formed by owners themselves. But they need help. These efforts are comparatively, as yet, few and far between, and to be perpetual and effective, there must be a responding voice. Reading and writing in this grand object, may at present be passed by, and always, except where consent is most freely given. Oral instruction has experience in its favour, and will accomplish enough to astonish even the most sanguine.

Our attention is here called to an objection from the recent insurrection which occurred in the island of Jamaica, and which has been so generally ascribed to the missionaries there stationed. The whole has been very much misrepresented in the partial and mutilated accounts we have received, and no doubt is satisfactorily explained in the evidence, which is announced as published by the English houses of parliament. In the absence of this, however, the following summary may be relied upon as a rude outline of the lamented transaction. In 1831, several hundred slaves in the conquered crown colonies of Berbice &c., were made free. These slaves had for years been the property of the crown of Great Britain, and not of individuals. They had been

the subjects of various experiments, had been maintained at a heavy expense, and at last at the earnest solicitations of the friends of abolition, were released from bondage. This circumstance was of course the subject of general observation throughout the British West India Islands, and was considered by the slaves a marked indication of the general intentions of government, which they conceived would be carried into immediate effect, but for the powerful influence of their owners. The growing excitement and disaffection arising from this, may easily be conceived, when it is recollected that the coloured population was twenty to one. By a strange fatality, the general murmur excited but little attention; the misguided whites, anxious to seize every available argument against the friends of the blacks, allowed the evil quietly to gather its force, in hopes of turning the whole of the disaffection against the emancipatists of England, who had promoted the liberation of the crown slaves. It was at last known throughout the island, that the slaves, generally, expected their freedom at Christmas, the period when three days of universal holiday are allowed. A proclamation was now issued by the government disavowing the intention, but it came too late. The slaves doubted the statement, and openly avowed their intention of not returning to work after Christmas. The day before the holidays were to commence, a plot was discovered involving an extensive conflagration designed to render their expectations the more certain. The militia was ordered out, and the troops stationed in that quarter of the island (a few companies only,) put into activity. The work of devastation immediately and prematurely commenced, and the buildings over a valuable portion of the island were in flames. The negroes generally grew terrified. All was confusion, and thousands sought a retreat in the neighbouring woods, and became involved in the show of rebellion. It appeared for a time that success was theirs. Days were consumed in collecting and arranging the troops in sufficient strength, and in this state of general and unknown excitement, the slaves for several miles square, indiscriminately joined in the insurrection, which was finally quelled by the activity of disciplined troops prevailing over a distressed and feebly armed multitude. When it was found that the members of missionary churches were among the rebels, the chapels throughout the island were destroyed; and the most violent measures resorted to against all who were attached to them, and the evil thereby greatly increased. A few things are particularly worthy of notice. A strong prejudice had for some time existed against the labours of missionaries and their followers, which was kept alive by a most uninterrupted and unfounded tissue of abuse and falsehood, sustained for years in a public print of a most unprincipled character. The unprecedented success of these labours, however,

had been attained amidst all this opposition, which needed but an ostensible occasion for being put into physical operation. The buildings alone were destroyed; the cane-fields dry as tinder, and just ready, for the crops were in general not touched. The insurrection was neither planned nor commenced by the religious negroes. And yet such was the softening influence of that instruction, which had for ten years prevailed, that not a life was taken in the rising, though hundreds were in the power of the slaves. The few whites who fell, lost their lives in the measures afterwards taken to suppress it. Instances are on record given on oath of slave managers, who, on the breaking out of the insurrection in remote positions, were placed by the revolted slaves under guard, and their lives preserved uninjured amidst hundreds in open rebellion. In two bordering districts, the insurrection was prevented partly by the free explanation of the owners, and partly by the missionaries, who exerted a powerful influence in restraining it. In one, a missionary sent to eighty properties, and of these only one was concerned in the rising. In the disturbed district, the missionary long stationed there, had been absent for several months in England. His presence might possibly have prevented the whole by the well regulated influence of religious negroes, who did not at first unite in the tumult. Now let any one compare these circumstances with those of Southampton, where sixty-five whites were immediately and indiscriminately murdered, and then let him draw his own conclusions.

3. Colonization Society. Our remarks on the first topics of present duty, proposed in the outset, have been too extended to allow much discussion on the remaining two; nor is it needed. The principles of this society named, are so well known, so thoroughly sifted by friends and foes; and it is so carefully watched in its progress—that it may be safely committed to public opinion: it needs no defence or exposition here, though warmly attacked in some of the publications enumerated in our heading, and in many others of our day, emanating from zeal rather than knowledge. The opening prospect for Africa, injured, oppressed, enslaved as it is; the fair hope of extinguishing the slave trade by its means; the advantages gained by emigrants in the colony of Liberia itself, are now generally received as given truths. We add here the open channel afforded by the society's meetings, for free discussion on the main question, throughout the Union. And we need only refer to the December number of this Review, for a full exposition of the claims which the American Colonization Society has upon the community. We merely ask, why prevent any free person of colour from availing himself of the advantages fairly held out, even if we go no further than the unqualified evidence of Simpson and Moore, agents sent by the coloured population of the south and west, to ascertain facts? We

wish public attention to be kept close to this point. Is it best to remove those who may at once be happier elsewhere, or retain them to outnumber and overawe the whites into an admission of free rights, forced and fearful, but granted in despair? We cannot but think this to be the true point at issue. And we would not keep one emigrant away from his free and proffered home, merely because he might, by remaining, become a soldier in the battles of emancipation. We should deplore this view of philanthropy, Christian benevolence, or whatever else it may be termed.

If it could be made to appear, that as the numbers increased, so would the intelligence and moral influence of the free of colour increase, until their claims could no longer be denied; we might doubt the propriety of any measures for removal. We would not lift a finger to remove, from the West Indies, a single inhabitant of that description, because they are gaining their entire privileges by such influence. And when emancipation does arrive, the few whites must remove; and on the intelligence and freedom, otherwise previously existing, must rest the question whether those communities sink to Irish or Haytian semi-barbarism, or rise to intelligence and industry without a long and unhappy struggle. But with us the case is very different. No hopes can be entertained that the whites will remove; that the free will gain equal privileges as they advance in numbers; but rather the reverse. On the other hand we can see that (two states only having a majority of coloured population, and that but slight,) the ascendancy in power and prejudice would, by such a course, be retained far longer than the limit, which we fondly and reasonably trust, will be placed, by the slave states themselves, to the existence of bondage. Fear will never compel abolition under such circumstances, but it may render more severe both the usages and laws. If the West India white community have retained their power so long, when only one to twenty, how can the most sanguine of immediate abolitionists blindly anticipate the forced ascendancy of a *positive minority*, against every possible moral and physical obstacle? Now it will be evident, on a little reflection, that any one state, on having its slave population partially reduced, will, as fear decreases, relax the rigours of bondage, and entertain measures for emancipation in proportion as other motives prevail. Let any candid reader ask himself, as a question of practice, where does he look for the earliest decided measures towards abolition, in Maryland and Kentucky, or South Carolina and Louisiana?

But again, slave labour will, it is said, become more in demand as the numbers lessen, and emancipation be, in consequence, so much the more removed. We confess this appears to us an erroneous theory. It is admitted, in most of the slave states, that such labour is unprofitable, and that free labour would be advan-

tageous, if it could prevail without that indolence always attending a community prematurely released from discipline and coercion. Now if the present amount of slave labour is unprofitable, we cannot discern how a less amount can become profitable at a higher price; but we can see that it may be more readily exchanged for free labour. It is not necessary that every free coloured person be removed before southern labour can be changed in its nature. As the proportion of black to white decreases, just so does the facility increase, for substituting peaceably, free for slave labour. We think this undeniable, from every fact yet brought forward, of actual emancipation from negro slavery.

But we have, in passing, a caution for the Society itself. The comparative wisdom exercised in its measures, over those which have been pursued by England towards Sierra Leone, has been abundantly exemplified. The latter colony has cost millions, under the fostering care of a powerful and successful nation in such enterprises, and yet failed; while Liberia has, so far, flourished with very limited means. This failure in Sierra Leone, is mainly from the too rapid admission of negroes, rescued from slavery, but unprepared for freedom; and now, an insurrection in Free Town, in which one hundred lives are lost, scarcely excites a remark. We trust the society will steadily pursue their wise and enlightened policy of proportioning intelligence and moral principle to numbers. Soon, vast numbers, selected and sent out under a far different policy, will be poured in upon the meritorious and industrious settlers, and confusion and insubordination may supersede the beautiful order and moral harmony thus far pervading the infant, but promising community. Such a catastrophe might throw back the prospects of Africa for ages; and yet we see but two modes of arresting an issue sorely disheartening to the friends of humanity. Let the settlements be more rapidly increased in number along the coast, and let moral and religious means be applied in a ratio far higher than any thing known even in New England. It is not enough to have these means in reference to the numbers merely, but in reference to the disproportion likely soon to exist among the emigrants against intelligence and order. This tendency, though foreseen distinctly by the Society, cannot be too strongly impressed upon our country; and every measure put forth in behalf of this object, should have this preventive aspect, by preparing for the rapidly increasing moral wants, rather than hereafter seeking to cure the evil when past control.

4. Extinction of Slavery in the District of Columbia. We profess to be among those who think that the courtesy, at least, of the South, should grant this desideratum to northern feeling. It is evident that each free state will as naturally seek for its extinction there, as it would seek to remove the same evil (grant it

to be only imaginary) from its own borders. But it also appears desirable, that the freest nation on the globe, should at least be privileged with freedom around its capitol—that its laws should emanate from a spot, where the moral atmosphere is, in this respect at least, pure—where the legislator and visiter from the North may sojourn without any outrage, from this cause, to his feelings or principles, whatever they may be; and where the southerner may observe in silence, the existence, on a small scale, of that (which, but for obstacles not there in being,) he would gladly hail around his own home. We mean not that this request should be pushed in a manner irritating, or in a tone of commanding menace. But we put it to our southern brethren—is it wise to resist a claim so harmless and yet so gratifying to the members of the free states? We know not what will continue our Union but mutual concession.

Let every thinking, benevolent American, be aroused to a calm and careful examination of the whole of this momentous question. Let him not suffer himself to be misled by a partial survey, taking in but a narrow view of the topic, but follow it out, apart from theory and excitement. Let those who are earnest for “immediate emancipation,” inquire if that term really expresses what they deem to be demanded by the case; and if it really requires so much qualification, why should it be retained, merely to awaken interest in one quarter, when it deceives and arouses anger and irritation in another? If those who profess to be the friends of the slave, and claim that title against all the world, are indeed sincere, let them carry out, into all their measures, expressions which will not belie the simple object, which we believe to exist with them, in truth, as it does in profession—the removal of slavery as soon as practicable, consistently with law, justice, and humanity.*

But we earnestly entreat the slave owner to pause and consider his prospects, with the same coolness and wisdom, which we could wish to see every where displayed on this subject. We urge him to the consideration, that slavery has always been regarded, by the vast majority of the southern inhabitants of our country, as an evil, at some day to be removed.† Then let him look along the line marked out, by the irresistible progress of society, towards full and enlightened freedom, over the face of the globe—then at the influence of West India emancipation upon the question here. Can the evident tendency be evaded or resisted? If not, will you continue to lose sight of the only peaceful preparative, which can avert the violent, and ensure the gentle movement, whenever the great question itself shall present that de-

* Constitution of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

† Vide Review, December, Article Slavery in Virginia.

mand, which it requires no prophet's eye to foresee at no very distant day? You may question the propriety of schools, and tuition in the common branches of education, even the lowest; but will you lose sight of the only sanction which can avail in the establishment of peace, and the removal of fear? Let religious instruction be encouraged, and faithful missionaries allowed freely, if not invited. To avoid the introduction of religion is impossible. You may cause superstition, and enthusiasm, and false doctrine to accompany it, and perhaps more extensively prevail, all equally calculated to disturb your repose, but religion in its progress rests at no form of government, no state of society, no condition of man. It is among all, and will live in all. Already are thousands among you embracing the truths of the Bible; and that light, which shines upon the heart, mellowing and softening down its various passions, must prevail. By meeting the increasing desire for this instruction (we plead for no other) you may receive it from responsible sources, and thus lead the way, gradually, to that condition of society, which will be prepared effectually for the boon of freedom, whenever wisdom and prudence, as well as humanity, unite in the demand. Or you may vainly hope to resist, and may long succeed, entailing, however, upon your children, if you experience them not yourselves, those bitter sorrows which an unsettled and immoral community will be ever throwing off from its surface. Inquire impartially into the precedents* before you, and (as in Antigua†) seek for a calm and decided co-operation with your slaves, in the communication of the gospel. You may enjoy, undisturbed, the peaceful fruits which it invariably carries in its train, unmingled. Or be subjected to

* In Jamaica, notwithstanding the apparent irregularities, we appeal confidently to the full disclosure of facts, when it will be found, that unceasing opposition to religion, and not religion itself, eventually led to those difficulties, which originated in causes totally unconnected with the missionaries or their influence.

† The agent of the British Foreign Bible Society writes thus from Antigua; and we know of no slave colony where there is less fear of insurrection, or where a better understanding and greater mutual confidence prevail between master and slave. "It was with no little pleasure I saw arise, first one, then another, and another Bible Association among the slaves; there were no less than twenty formed. It would have been to you a treat of the richest kind, to be present at the meetings, which were held in forming these institutions. There were present on most of these occasions, two hundred to five hundred people, and this assembly was composed almost entirely of slaves. You will readily suppose that these meetings could not have been held, nor the associations formed, without the concurrence at least of the planters. We never attempted to hold a meeting, but with such consent; but we had more than the consent of the planters in these cases, or in most of them. For the planters themselves attended, and recommended our object to the slaves. Our first association was formed on an estate belonging to a clergyman of the established church. Our meeting was held in the chapel on the estate, where he regularly, every Sunday, reads service, and preaches to his people. There were not less than five hundred present that evening. Our first association amounted to five hundred and fifty, and the first month's collections to nineteen dollars."

the conflicting and malignant passions, which an opposition to it as invariably awakens, with all the consequences in the perverted minds of your slaves. The experiment has been tried, and the result cannot be mistaken; it will stand the test of the severest scrutiny. Assist in the introduction of Christianity among your slaves; let them see that you envy them not that boon for the soul, and they will grant you more willingly the subjection in bondage which you deem essential to safety. Be assured that even if you thus hasten emancipation, it will only be by a readier assent on your part, and thus becoming your own act. You will keep the event under your own control; but that control will be humane, enlightened, and will avert the heavy and dreaded calamities, now hanging over a protracted bondage, which possesses no promise of relief or removal.

ART. VIII.—*Three Years in North America.* By JAMES STUART, Esq. 2 vols. 8 vo. Edinburgh: 1833.

THE number of tourists who, of late years, have thought the United States worth a visit, and the multitude of works which have been published by authors professing to give an account of its institutions and manners, is a proof, in this book-making age, of an increasing interest taken by the people of other nations, in all that relates to a country whose greatness is already felt—whose blessings and advantages are beginning to be appreciated, and whose high destinies and future influence are no longer matters of visionary speculation, but of certain prediction. Old prejudices are with difficulty overcome—preconceived opinions reluctantly relinquished. That which was once true, is thought true, long after it has ceased to be so; for slowly does the light of truth diffuse itself through large regions of mind, and make itself known and recognised by the imperfect organs of humanity. It is scarcely possible, by the clearest testimony, by conclusive reasoning, to make a generation of men change the opinions of their youth; the truths which are to benefit a succeeding age, are known and appreciated only by the intellectual and educated few of the immediately preceding, who, by the gifts of nature, and the fruits of study, are exalted above their fellows, as the beams of the rising sun *first* gild the mountain-tops with their pure lustre, whilst the wide plains and the deep valleys lie shrouded in mist and darkness, which can only be dissipated by mid-day radiance. Thus it is, that human improvement is slow; that each step in its progress requires an age for its accomplishment, and that the sad spectacle has always been pre-

sented, of societies of men, living in error and misery, with the means of knowledge and happiness in their possession.

If this be eminently the case with regard to the results of scientific investigation, and the deductions of abstract reasoning, it is also true of any subject about which men are required to give up opinions which they have long entertained, and to acknowledge the absurdity of prejudices confirmed by universality, and strengthened by habit. A hundred years ago, and America was a vast wilderness; fifty years ago, a young and thriving nation, just emancipated from the rule of Great Britain, who, proud in the consciousness of power, in historic recollections, in acknowledged superiority, viewed with dislike and contempt her rebellious colonies; and could not see, in their young strength, the future rival of her grandeur. America was spoken of, whenever noticed, as a land of barbarism and vulgarity, of swamps and forests, of Indians and backwoodsmen, of gougers and tobacco chewers, of slave-drivers and Yankees. Wounded vanity and habitual pride exaggerated every blemish, and sound reason and philosophic perspicacity were wanting, to perceive in the principles of the government, and the situation of the country, the true sources of national happiness: or, in the rough habits of a hardy and enterprising population, indications of future greatness. Such opinions once formed, and strengthened by being associated with popular feeling, are not easily eradicated. Whilst *they* remained unaltered, America changed. The great causes of human happiness were at work through her wide territories, and operated without check or obstacle. She had the freest government in the world, which secured and protected the rights of man, to which the people were enthusiastically attached; she had a vigorous and enterprising population, lightly taxed, with minds sharpened by the exigencies of their situation, and elevated by the possession of political rights, and the consciousness of freedom—hardened by labour, full of life and energy. Industry was sure of a rich reward, and therefore industry became adventurous and persevering. Where the necessities of life existed in abundance, population was unchecked, and increased in a manner unparalleled. Capital was accumulated, and enterprise quickened; and labour and capital, guided by intelligence, and stimulated by the certainty of gain, changed the face of the country, and the habits of the people. The forest has been cleared; towns have become cities; canals and rail-roads connect the most distant regions; and, as in general intelligence and universal comfort, the people of the United States surpass any other, in public magnificence, in luxury, taste, and refinement, they almost rival the capitals of Europe. But, whilst from the combined and unimpeded operation of every cause which can make human exertion efficient, and advance the prosperity of a nation, the United States

have shot up with a rapid growth, from a rude and healthy infancy, to a vigorous and gigantic manhood, the progress has been unmarked by the people of other nations, and old opinions and prejudices, true to a certain extent, and just at one time, are only now beginning to be eradicated.

These opinions were long cherished and confirmed by the reports of numerous tourists, who, either from distorted feeling or intellectual feebleness, were incapable of taking an enlarged view of the state of country, or of interpreting the signs of the time and nation; who looked only at the surface of things, and were not able to draw a just or philosophic inference even from the appearances which they did observe;—who prated of the roughness of roads and stage-coaches, the incivility of landlords, and the discomfort of inns;—who saw in the practice of spitting, the vileness of democracy, and in the general habit of chewing tobacco, the evil tendency of republican institutions. But even these gentry, shallow as they were, amid the mass of their petty absurdities, reported a body of facts of great and interesting import. *Thinking* men were led to infer, that there must be something admirable in the principles of government, something of purity and truth in the springs of social thought and action, something excellent in the situation and circumstances of a country, where even from the admissions of splenetic travellers, supercilious would-be fine gentlemen, and hired caricaturists, pauperism was unknown, taxation scarcely felt, labour sure of reward, industry and enterprise energetic and adventurous, the means of comfort abounding and universal, the standard of intelligence and morality high in all classes, and the influence of political institutions such, that the rich were without arrogance and the poor without servility. Such inferences might have been drawn even from the prejudiced and exaggerated accounts of the earlier travellers in America, and such doubtless were drawn by many readers whose habits of thought led them to philosophic investigation, and whose minds were neither blinded by prejudice, nor enlisted in support of a system. But the volumes of censure and abuse with which each English traveller who could write at all, and some indeed who could not, thought proper to regale his countrymen on his return from the United States, to say nothing of the perennial stream of satire through the various journals, sufficiently prove the prevailing taste and feeling of the country, which created a demand for such publications,—

“For they who live to please, must please to live.”

From such sources, not much correct information could be derived: America and her doings attracted but little esteem, and excited no interest even in England, who till a late period knew little of the rapid progress and actual condition of her thriving offspring. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* in the year 1829, noticing

Mr. Cooper's "Notions of the Americans," uses this language; "Mr. Cooper observes that the American little suspects even now, how completely his country is without the pale of European thought, and justly adds, that the ignorance in which she has remained of America and American character, from the day her pilgrims first touched the rock of Plymouth, is one of England's great misfortunes. Such certainly has been the fact hitherto, we trust it will not long remain so."

The hope of the reviewer has been partially fulfilled. Events were even then on the wing and near at hand, which were to convert scornful or ignorant indifference into eager curiosity, and to fix the gaze, not of the philosophical inquirer, of the speculative political dilettante merely—but of the struggling despairing millions of worn-out Europe, upon the eagle flight of the young and gigantic republic. The "liberal opinions" which had long been gradually pervading the mass of society—popular distress always increasing, at length no longer tolerable, have at last burst the fetters of old prejudice and strong association, and habits of thought and feeling rivetted by the use of ages, and produced that state of the public mind so important, and when rightly contemplated even so awful—the desire for change—the universal feeling that change is necessary.

Self-consciousness, self-scrutiny is the sign of disease. Healthy action is always unconscious action, the *object* absorbing all attention, the process being performed with habitual ease, attracting none. Disease, organic derangement, bodily or mental, producing pain or even consciousness, compels self-contemplation, and the abandonment of all desire or pursuit of things external. This is true not only of individuals but of nations. Public distress, constant and increasing, is the sign of political disease. It shows that there is something wrong either in the formation or administration of a government. If the distress is slight, the mass of the community not feeling it, are not led to observe it, and they go on in their various pursuits without thinking, or being conscious of the working of that great machine called a government or a system of society, by the just and proper action of which, they are enabled to enjoy in security and freedom, the blessings of social and civilized life. But when distress is severe and pervading, when large masses of the community find themselves reduced to the extreme of misery and degradation, they are led to examine the circumstances of their condition, and to search for remedies;—the nation contemplates itself, and finds wretchedness on all sides; then arises among the people the desperate determination to do something for the improvement of their condition—the vehement desire for change. When we consider that all change is an experiment, upon the success of which depends the happiness of generations of men; that it is preceded by mise-

ry, resolved on through despair; that the good it is intended to produce is distant and contingent; that its immediate effects, as experience has taught, are still greater misery and general disorder;—we cannot but consider the necessity for it, whenever it arises, as marking a dark era in the history of a nation.

Curiosity thus powerfully excited, has made the United States, its institutions and manners, and the general condition of its people, subjects of deep interest to the inhabitants of Europe. It is of importance to human happiness, that this curiosity should be fully gratified; that not only the nature and form of our government, the doctrines and provisions of our constitution should be accurately known; but the situation and circumstances of all classes of the people, their tone of thought and feeling—their manners, and their habits of social action. Unless this be known, nothing is known; the theory of a government may be very beautiful and plausible, but the test of its excellence is the condition of the people who live under it. Information of this nature can only be gained from the books of travellers, for the most part an impure and insufficient source. A work written in a philosophic and impartial spirit, describing the actual situation of all classes of the community, their relations and feelings towards each other, the political opinions and movements of the people, the amount of intelligence and education—every thing, in short, which could show the operation of our institutions, and afford data from which inferences could be drawn as to their merits and defects, in this age of revolution and reformation, when all eyes are fixed on the great political experiment making here, might prove an essential service to the cause of human improvement. No such work has yet appeared. Thus, the European statesman must draw his conclusions from facts scattered through many volumes, observed without any definite object, for the most part of trivial importance, often falsely reported through ignorance or incapacity, more frequently coloured and distorted by national prejudice and hostile feeling. Mr. Stuart is, we believe, the last traveller who has given to the public the results of his observations, and though by no means all that we could desire, his work is, we think, the best which has been published on the subject. If not profound in his reflections, he is for the most part accurate in his observations, which, however trivial in many instances, and deficient in a philosophic object, or with reference to the most interesting subjects of inquiry, are yet sufficiently extensive to give a pretty good idea of the manners of the people and the situation of the country. The work appears to have been written in a spirit of kindness and candour by a man of ordinary education and intellect, who, during a residence of three years, had opportunities of seeing much, and who, in good

faith, noted down all that he thought worthy of attention, but who, from his habits of thought or the nature of his mind, was incapable of taking an enlarged view of the circumstances of the country or the character of the people. The book is in truth exceedingly common-place. Mr. Stuart's attention seems to have been much more occupied by inns, roads, stage-coaches, and, above all, good cheer and personal gossip, than by the grand moral and intellectual features of the nation, the modes of living and sources of enjoyment of different classes of the people, the phenomena which mark the influence of their peculiar social and political institutions, and the indications of their future prospects. We expect something more from a traveller in a country fraught with subjects of interesting speculation as this, than a mere detail of the petty incidents of his journey, a constantly recurring account of the dainties that covered his table, the quality of the roads and coaches, the accommodations at the hotels, and personal anecdotes and village tattle picked up by the way-side. The man who writes *now* for the British public concerning America, should be capable of enlarged thought and properly directed observation; his attention should be turned to those things from which important political and economical inferences could be drawn; he should examine minutely, reason correctly, report faithfully. Three years in North America thus employed, would furnish a mass of materials valuable to the statesmen and political economists of the old world. If his aim is rather to amuse than to instruct, there should be at least lively and piquant pictures of society and manners, an agreeable narrative, vivid and graphic descriptions of scenery and works of art. The volumes of Mr. Stuart are not distinguished by these qualities. He is evidently not a practised writer, and we are compelled to think, does not possess much strength or brilliancy of mind. His style is awkward, inelegant, and feeble; his descriptions of society display but little tact or discrimination, and his delineations of scenery are tame, obscure, and tasteless. To make up for these deficiencies, he describes the breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, which solaced the toils of travel, with the minute and zealous eloquence of one who is fond of his subject, makes honourable mention of all civil landlords and comfortable inns, and, (a great merit in our eyes,) appears well pleased with Americans and America. We shall not attempt to follow our traveller through all his wanderings, but shall make a few extracts from his works, such as we think most likely to convey to our readers a correct idea of its general character.

Mr. Stuart arrived in New York, in the month of August, 1828. He was much struck with the fine approach to that city from the sea, and says:—

"It is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent scenes in the world. I know of no more happy disposition of land and water, nor such variety of marked and pleasing features any where on the shores or rivers of the British islands. Neither the Bay of Dublin, nor the Isle of Wight, nor the Firths of Forth or Clyde, present the works of nature on a grander scale, or in more varied and interesting aspects. That boldness of character which lofty hills and mountains produce, is alone wanting."

He praises the city, its situation, its means of internal communication, its streets and houses, and strange to say of an English traveller, its hotels—where, as indeed every where else, the liberal abundance with which the table was supplied, appears to have afforded him astonishment and delight:—

"The table was excellent. A bill of fare was brought us every morning; but the maitre d'hotel was not satisfied with sending in those dishes alone which we marked, but, besides those, furnished every thing which he himself thought best. Turtle soup twice without extra charge; beef good; poultry excellent; fish different from what we had been accustomed to, and, as we thought, softer, and not so good; melons of very superior quality; peaches abundant, but not higher flavoured than our own; tea and coffee good; tea made by the person superintending the establishment, and not produced in the tea chest or canister.

"The breakfasts were most abundant, consisting of fish, beef-steaks, broiled chicken, and eggs in large quantities, all produced without special directions."

In a few days, Mr. Stuart left New York for the Falls of Niagara. He is delighted with the steam-boat *North America*, her accommodations, and the company he met on board. The following extract to an American reader appears a little odd:—

"We had observed a very handsome woman of colour, as well dressed, and as like a female of education, as any of those on board, on deck. My wife, who had some conversation with her, asked her, when she found that she had not dined with us, why she had not been in the cabin? She replied very modestly, that the people of this country did not eat with the people of colour. The manners and appearance of this lady were interesting, and would have distinguished her any where."

He is of course in raptures with the scenery of the lordly Hudson; his delight, however, appears too great for his powers of expression, for his description is tame and spiritless.

Mr. Stuart, in his journey to the Falls of Niagara, and across the states of New York and Massachusetts, bears ample testimony to the advantages and blessings of the noble region through which he passed. The beauty of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil; the enterprising, industrious, educated, and virtuous population; the neat villages and the thriving farms; the high standard of comfort, intelligence, and morality; the plenty and the happiness every where apparent, though not observed with the minute attention and philosophic spirit which they deserved, drew from him constantly, nevertheless, expressions of that pleasure which every virtuous mind must receive from the contemplation of human happiness and prosperity. Mr. Stuart meant well, doubtless, but his was not a mind to be attracted to the most important objects of observation, or to read aright the

grand moral and social phenomena which were around him. The aspect of the country, the condition, opinions, manners, and modes of life of the inhabitants, seem the incidental and transient objects of his thought and contemplation: whilst the inns, roads, and stage-coaches, and above all, the excellence and variety of his food, occupy the principal portion of his attention, and his pages. The minuteness and *gout* with which he constantly enumerates the good things which were set before him, is sometimes almost ludicrous. For example at Schenectady:—

“Dinner was abundant, consisting of fish, roast-beef, boiled lamb, broiled chickens, potatoes, squash, beet-root, green cabbage unboiled, cut down like pickled red cabbage, in vinegar; apple-pie, pudding, cheese, melted butter, cold butter, pickled cucumbers. The table literally covered with dishes. Brandy was on the table: very little used. No wine, nor any liquid, but water. The waiters were men of colour. No payment was made to them, nor to the driver of the stage. Half a dollar for each person was the charge for dinner.”

Too much space is also devoted to historical details, and long narratives of events during the war, extracted from other works, and out of place in a book of travels. The fourth chapter contains an account of the state prison at Auburn, of which a very full description is given. The details are exceedingly interesting, but familiar to most of our readers: Mr. Stuart makes some very sensible remarks in relation to prison discipline, and the propriety of adopting a similar system in Great Britain, which, however, we have not room to extract. He is particularly struck in his journey with the beauty of the villages, the cleanliness and comfort of the hotels, the civility and independence of the servants, and the appearance of ease and plenty among all classes. He saw no paupers or beggars, nor any description of persons whatever, who did not appear to enjoy in abundance all the necessities of life. A few extracts will show the manner in which Mr. Stuart made his observations:—

“Early on 7th September, we proceeded to Canandaigua, on the lake of the same name, sixteen miles distant from Geneva, through a very fertile district; it is considered the most beautiful village in the State of New York; population about 3000. It rises gradually for above a mile from the lake, with an extensive opening for the public buildings in the centre of the street. I am not sure, if I admire the situation more than that of Geneva, but the style of the houses is decidedly superior. There is more appearance of their having been designed and set down with taste than I have observed elsewhere. In short, advantage has been taken of the ground, and of its relative situation with the lake, to place them on the fittest spots. They are generally separate, and distinct dwelling-houses, their exterior painted perfectly white, and they recede from the street of the village, the sides of which are shaded with trees, enclosed in neatly laid out gardens. Some of the houses are large, and too good to be denominated villas.

“Mr. Blossom's hotel might be called splendid, if every part of it be equal to the dining-room, which is spacious, and handsome; but we saw little more of it, our stay being limited to two or three hours. The dinner was excellent; and the landlord did the honours well at the head of the table. We had the luxury in the middle of the day, when it still continues very hot, of partaking of a bot-

tle of London brown stout from a cool cellar, and certainly never enjoyed it more.

"From Canandaigua to Avon, where we finished our journey on the 7th, the distance is about twenty-four miles, generally through good land, equal to any we have seen. We found a very clean and well-managed, though not very large, hotel at Mr. Asa Bowlen's at Avon, where we agreed to remain till the 9th. The hotel-keeper himself was at the head of every thing, and attended to his bar-room; his wife was housekeeper and cook; and his daughters, smart young ladies, when the work was done, after dinner, officiated both as chambermaids and waiters. The only stranger in the house was a white man, a waiter. Next morning, the 8th, the landlord had a carriage waiting for us, having heard us say that one of us intended to go to the Sulphur Spring, about a mile distant, to have a bath. The spring, which is situated in the adjoining forest, is highly sulphurous, but the accommodation is not yet good; the spring having only lately been brought into notice." * * *

"In the afternoon, we hired a carriage to take us to Genesee, a small village on the river of the same name, which passes through Rochester, where are the magnificent Falls of the Genesee, that we might have an opportunity of seeing Mr. Wadsworth's flats or meadows, which are thought the finest and most productive in this country; they consist of a great tract of low lying land along the river side, covered with luxuriant herbage. We learned, on arriving at the village of Genesee, that our driver was ignorant of the way to the low grounds, and therefore stopped at the village, nine miles from Avon, at one of the hotels, where we applied for, and obtained a guide. The farm of Mr. Wadsworth is of great extent, about 4000 acres; but the beautiful tract of alluvial land does not exceed 1600 or 1700 acres of the most fertile soil that can be conceived. A few noble oaks, single trees, which are seldom met with here, adorn the fields. I measured one of them, which was twenty-eight feet in circumference. On our return to the village, it was necessary to stop to water the horses. We alighted at the hotel, and asked for some fruit, that we might not be giving trouble without calling for something for which we should have to pay. They brought us some early apples, which are in this country quite a delicious fruit. When we returned to the carriage, and asked what we had to pay, and what was the charge for the guide, the latter showed that he almost considered himself insulted by our question. He was very glad to be of any use to strangers: the people of the hotel also would receive nothing for the apples, and were happy they had been able to show us any civility." * * *

"We took a hurried view of Lake Erie, a sea 250 miles long, and 50 miles broad, and of the village itself, on the morning of the 10th; and on our return from our peregrinations, were ushered into the dining-room of the hotel, about 100 feet long, where from 80 to 100 people were assembled, partaking of as abundant and excellent a breakfast as I have ever seen. We were at once recognised to be strangers; and our neighbours at table vied with each other in showing us civilities, in offering the various sorts of bread and other good things, placed on the different parts of a very long table. This sort of attention we find every where paid to us as strangers, more especially as coming from Britain."

"From New Lebanon, we passed through a very hilly country to Pittsfield, a clean-looking village, where the meetings of the Berkshire agricultural society, incorporated by the legislature of Vermont, are held, and reached Peru, a small village, where we spent the night in a very good country hotel. The hotels on this road seemed to us faultless. We were not shown into a parlour in any of the stage-houses where we stopped, in which there was not a very tolerable library in history, philosophy, religion, and novels. Paley, Rollin, Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Robertson, and Cooper, are almost always on the shelves of a book-case, and there is a piano in the room much oftener than in Britain.

"The next place of note where we stopped was Northampton, in the western part of the state of Massachusetts, and between fifty and sixty miles from Albany, and which, whether taking it alone, or in conjunction with the neighbouring country, is decidedly the most beautiful village that I have seen in this country. The only place at all to be compared to it is Canandaigua. The villages of New

England are proverbial for their neatness and cleanness. Cooper, the well-known American writer, says truly, 'New England may justly glory in her villages—in space, freshness, and air of neatness and of comfort, they far exceed any thing I have ever seen even in the mother country. I have passed in one day six or seven of these beautiful hamlets, for not one of which have I been able to recollect an equal in the course of all my European travelling.'

"It is, in fact, hardly possible to figure a handsomer country town than Northampton, or a more charming country than that in its neighbourhood; but the town is not more remarkable for neatness and cleanness, and for handsome and suitable buildings, and houses and gardens, than for beauty of situation, and the delightful scenery in its vicinity. No mere traveller who comes to this country will do justice to it, if he does not visit Northampton. If a traveller in Britain were to stumble on such a place as this, he would not fail to inquire whose great estate was in the neighbourhood, and attribute the decorations of shrubs, flowers, &c. which adorn even the smallest habitations here, to the taste of a wealthy neighbour, or to his being obliged to make them to promote electioneering views. Here every thing is done by the people spontaneously, and if any authority is exerted, it is by officers appointed by themselves.

"The population of Northampton amounts to between 3000 or 4000. There is only one great broad street, with a few fine trees, in which are situated the churches and court-house—buildings decidedly ornamental, and of considerable size. But the beauty of the place, apart from the situation, arises from the great width of the street, and the light clean appearance of the white plain houses with their verandas, porticos, and green Venetian blinds, enclosed with handsome white railings in large pieces of dressed garden-ground, ornamented with large old trees. Northampton consists, in truth, of a number of villas of various sizes, but very pleasing, though irregular, architecture, seeming to vie with each other in the taste and elegance of their external decorations. There is primitive white limestone in the neighbourhood, and much of the pavement and steps are of white marble. The trees in the neighbourhood of the town are single spreading trees, principally elms, and of considerable age—the roads are wide, and the footpaths are excellent every where. We were shown the old elms that shaded the house of the celebrated President Edwards. At the hotel where we lodged, kept by Mr. Warner, the dinner set down to us alone was as good and as well-dressed as at any London hotel. A very handsome female waiter attended us, and took her seat by us, very much as our equal." * * *

"On this journey from Albany to Boston, we never happened to reach any of the hotels at their regular hour of dinner; nor had we any of our meals at the same time with the boarders in the house. No difficulty was any where made on this account—we were shown into private parlours every where, and had every thing we required as comfortably as if we had been travelling in England; and at the same expense as if we had arrived at the hours of the general meals. There were obvious distinctions between the customs of the two countries; especially in the quantity of animal food placed before us at breakfast, and at tea, and in the demeanour of the female waiters, who never fail to seat themselves when their services are not required; but we wanted nothing that was essential, and had nothing to pay to drivers, waiters, or chambermaids."

This is very different from the caricatures and mis-statements of Mrs. Trollope and Captain Hall.

Mr. Stuart has devoted one chapter to the agriculture of the district in which he was travelling. His account is tolerably correct and minute. We shall make one extract upon a subject which seems not to have attracted as much attention as it deserves:—

"It has been well ascertained that the soil and climate of the United States are suitable for the culture of silk; in particular, by means of pretty extensive

trials successfully made in Virginia and Georgia, and as far north as Connecticut. The mulberry has been proved to thrive well, even at Burlington, in the State of Vermont, and in the 45th degree of north latitude. What should recommend the culture of silk, wherever practicable, is, that it is added to the ordinary and accustomed productions without essentially diminishing any of them, and that it gives employment to old men, women, and children, incapable of the severe labour of the field. The mulberry beautifies and embellishes the country, being a fine tree for shade. One acre of full-grown mulberry trees will, according to the present prices, produce, as it is estimated, 200 dollars worth of silk; but it would require ten acres of the best land to produce the same value of wheat in this part of the United States. Neither is there any comparison in the quantity and quality of the labour required. The most robust are necessarily employed for the production of wheat; but women and children are competent to the manufacture of silk. The general government are, therefore, acting most wisely in encouraging its production; more especially as the annual value of the silks, even now imported into the United States, exceeds six millions of dollars.

"It is not consistent with the enterprising character of this people, that they have hitherto so little attended to the silk trade. The mulberry thrives equally well in those states as in France and Italy, in which, ever since the introduction of silk worms from India in 1455, the culture of silk has been an important branch of industry. The growth of silk was in these countries promoted, not only in consequence of premiums offered for its cultivation, but of various laws which were passed with that view, until at length the Europeans became successful competitors in this manufacture with the Chinese and the people of the East Indies. It has now been completely ascertained, by a report in Congress, founded on correct information, that the American silk is superior in quality to that produced in any other country. In France and Italy, twelve pounds of cocoons are required to produce one pound of raw silk; whilst eight pounds of American cocoons will produce one pound. The market for silk has always been a ready one. Even France, which produces much silk, pays annually more than twenty millions of dollars for imported silk. England pays a large sum; and the United States pay above seven millions of dollars."

On the 29th of January, 1830, Mr. Stuart left New York, on his way to the Southern states. He travelled by land. After passing the boundaries of Pennsylvania, he entered a portion of our country, differing in many striking and important features from that which he had just left, or any he had yet visited; different in soil—in scenery—in the appearance of its houses and villages, in the habits of its population, in their modes of life and thought;—different, in short, in its whole aspect and condition. Most travellers, it is natural to suppose, would have been on the watch to discover the influence of that important peculiarity in the social relations of the country through which he was passing, which all now lament;—for he had entered the slave-holding states. That this influence is very marked, we all know. It was, however, unobserved by Mr. Stuart, who travels from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, without making a single observation which indicates that his attention was directed to the state of the country, or the condition of the people. Who that has compared the desolate landscape—the decaying villages—the exhausted soil—the wretched agriculture—the scanty and languid population, and the general aspect of discomfort and poverty of the South, with the flourishing towns—the rising

cities—the cultivated farms—the intelligent and thronging population—the energy, the industry, and enterprise—the universal plenty and increasing wealth of the North, but must feel surprised that an English traveller, making a tour of observation, should not have thought the disparity worthy of notice?

Mr. Stuart's attentions, during his long journey, were chiefly directed to the inns, and accommodations on the road, and he has noted with accuracy the treatment he received at each. The canvass-back ducks, with which he was regaled on his way from Philadelphia to Richmond, seem to have filled his imagination, and absorbed his thoughts. His account of his visit to Washington, contains but little that is interesting. He was presented to the President, and gratified by the simple and informal manner in which he was received. He says of him:—

“The president has very little the appearance or gait of a soldier, as I have been accustomed to see them. He is extremely spare in his habit of body—at first sight not altogether unlike Shakspeare's starved apothecary—but he is not an ungenteel man in manner and appearance: and there are marks of good humour, as well as of decision of character, in his countenance.”

A portion of his conversation with the president we must quote.

“The president again said he was happy he had the pleasure of seeing me, and entered familiarly into conversation with me, in the course of which I took occasion to express to him the great gratification it afforded me to have an opportunity of witnessing, in the course of my travels through the United States, the happiness and prosperity of the people, certainly the best educated, fed, and clothed in the world. The president answered, that he was much pleased to hear this. He had not been in Europe, which he regretted, but his conviction from all that he had learned was the same.

“Mr. Smith then remarked, that he had not been previously prepared to find that the education of the Scotch was not as general as in any part of the United States; and the president, who concurred in this observation, added, that he had supposed education to be quite as universal in Scotland, which was now the country the most remarkable for men eminent in literature, and for literary works.

“I explained, that, although in the higher ranks, and with persons destined for the learned professions, our course of education was even more laborious, and of course occupied much more time, than in the United States, the education of the mass of the people was limited to reading, writing, and accounts, and that even those branches were taught gratuitously as a favour, only on proper application being made and granted; whereas in the northern and populous states of the Union, the education of the rising generation not only embraced those branches, but the living languages, geography, history, mathematics, natural philosophy—every thing, in short, which should be taught till the age of seventeen, fitting a young person then to enter advantageously on the active business of life, and was placed, without distinction, in the power of all gratuitously.”

He says but little of the public men whom he saw at Washington, and does not appear to have had personal acquaintance with any of them. There, in the very citadel of republicanism, an intelligent traveller who was anxious to convey to his countrymen correct information with respect to the institutions of America, and their operation would, we think, have found ample ma-

terials for thought, and many sources of information. Mr. Stuart has not taken advantage of these opportunities, and does not appear to have been conscious of their existence. His description of Gadsby's hotel, is, however, very minute—and he has inserted at length Colonel Johnson's Report on Sunday Mails. He was so fortunate as to be present at the celebrated debate between Colonel Hayne and Mr. Webster on the public lands. In the speech of Mr. Webster on that occasion, as every one knows, some of the most important doctrines of the constitution, some of the primary and essential principles of our government, were stated and expounded, both as to their theoretical truth and their practical operation, with matchless power and eloquence. A more interesting moment for a foreigner could not well be imagined. The subject which gave rise to the debate, the disposition of the public lands, was itself one of great interest and importance, new in the annals of legislation and peculiar to this country. The great constitutional questions which were raised and discussed, reached the fundamental principles of our government, and involved the character and fate of our institutions. The discussion itself was the conflict between great and opposing interests, between opinions likely to govern the political action of large masses of the people, and to influence in a most important manner the destinies of the nation. Few travellers of ordinary intelligence and education, could fail to gather from that debate, if they listened to it with a proper object, much valuable information with respect to the institutions, the political opinions, the parties, the different interests, the prospects of the country. All this was utterly lost upon Mr. Stuart. He does not seem to have been in the least aware of the opportunity thus afforded him, or to suppose that his readers could feel any interest in other subjects than those which engrossed his attention, the hotels, the servants, and above all, his meals; which he describes in almost every page that is not filled with extracts from other works, with such constant reiteration, such minute detail, and with such an appearance of exulting delight, as indicate a mind incapable of much thought, or of feeling interest in subjects elevated above the common-place events and concerns of ordinary life.

The following extract will not give a very just idea of the eloquent champion of the Constitution, whose position and character Mr. Stuart is evidently unable to understand or appreciate.

“ Mr. Webster is considered a man of great industry, and a very energetic sound-headed speaker. He seems, himself, to believe every word he says, and to endeavour to convince his audience, not by any appeal to their passions, but to their reasoning powers. He has been about twenty years a member of Congress, and is about fifty years old. He is an active, robust-looking man, with somewhat of that ease, or confidence of manner, which a lawyer generally acquires. No man at present at the bar in the United States ranks higher as a lawyer. Mr. Hayne is a South Carolinian gentleman, and, I believe, of consi-

derable fortune. His appearance is very youthful and gentleman-like, his voice particularly good. If he was in the British House of Commons, and was to speak in the easy agreeable manner he does here, no one would doubt that he was a well-informed country gentleman. There is nothing professional-looking about him. He lately had a very warm argument with Mr. Webster, in which the friends of each of those gentlemen claimed the victory for him to whom they were politically attached. Neither of them, as I, a spectator, thought, had any reason to regret the conflict. Mr. Webster knew better, as a professional man, how to improve any advantage he gained; but Mr. Hayne was excited, by being opposed to such an adversary, to make greater exertions than he was previously thought capable of making."

Mr. Stuart proceeded from Washington to Charleston by land, and thence to New Orleans. He gives details with regard to the manner in which the slaves are treated, and their general condition, which are sufficiently disgusting. We should make some extracts from this portion of his work, did we think that thereby any useful purpose could be served. But public opinion even in the slave-holding states on that subject, is now too firmly established to need the confirmation of further facts. The great question now is, how to counteract the manifest evils of slavery, and how to get rid of it altogether? All lament its existence as a curse and a disgrace, and ascribe to its withering influence the backwardness and decay of the fine regions whose growth it has dwarfed.

From New Orleans Mr. Stuart proceeded up the Mississippi, visiting on his way those places which he considered most interesting. He was much pleased with his accommodations on board the steam-boats, with the magnificent scenery of the west, with the people, and even with the hotels. With all his love of comfort and good cheer, he does not seem to be very fastidious. The chapter on Illinois is made interesting, not by his observations so much as by some extracts from other works, descriptive of the scenery and advantages of that noble State. Indeed throughout the book, whenever struck with the grand and striking scenery which abounds in the regions through which he was travelling, he flies to foreign aid, as if conscious of his own inability properly to describe them. He is only eloquent when extolling the abundant breakfasts and luxurious dinners which gave interest and delight to his long journey, and the civil and attentive landlords, whom, more fortunate than most travellers, he appears to have encountered in every direction, and whose names and praises he has recorded with zealous gratitude.

Among the striking objects in the west, the prairies, boundless plains of inexhaustible fertility, covered with the richest verdure and adorned with groups of the noblest trees in the style, Mr. Stuart says, of an English park, are the most remarkable. We shall make an extract from Mr. Stuart's extracts of Mr. Flint's account of this peculiar and magnificent feature in the scenery of our country.

"It was Sabbath, and a fine September morning, when I came out upon the first prairie of any great size or beauty that I had seen. Every object was brilliant with a bright sun, and wet with a shower that had fallen the preceding evening. The first time a stranger comes in view of this prairie, take it all in all, the most beautiful that I have ever seen, a scene strikes him that will never be forgotten. The noble border of wood, that, with its broad curve, skirts this prairie, has features peculiar to the Missouri bottom, and distinct from that of the Mississippi.' I observed the cotton trees to be immensely tall, rising like Corinthian columns, enwrapped with a luxuriant wreathing of ivy, and the *Bigonia radicans*, with its splendid trumpet-shaped flowers, displayed them glittering in the sun quite on the summits of the trees. The prairie itself was a most glorious spectacle—such a sea of verdure, in one direction extending beyond the reach of the eye, and presenting millions of flowers of every scent and hue, seemed an immense flower garden. The air was soft and mild. The smoke streamed aloft from the houses and cabins which indented the prairie, just in the edge of the wood. The best view of this prairie is from the 'Mamelles,' which bound it on the west.

"There are evident indications that these mighty rivers, the Missouri and the Upper Mississippi, once united at the foot of the Mamelles. These are a succession of regular, cone-shaped bluffs, (heights,) which the French—who are remarkable for giving names significant of the fancied resemblance of the thing—have supposed to resemble the object whose name they bear. From the declivity of these beautiful eminences to the present union of the rivers, is, by their meanders, twenty-five miles. The prairie extends from them more than half this distance towards the junction. To the right, the Missouri converges towards the Mississippi by an easy curve, the limits of which are marked by the Missouri bluffs, which form a blue and indented outline over the tops of the grand forest bottoms. You can trace these bluffs to the point of union. To the left, your eye catches the much broader curve of the Upper Mississippi, which presents a regular section of an immense circle. Your eye follows this curve forty miles. In the whole of this distance, the opposite, or Illinois shore, is marked with a noble and bold outline, over which hovers a blue and smoky mist. The perfect smoothness of the basin enclosed between the two rivers—a carpet of verdure diversified with the most beautiful flowers, and the great extent of the curve, give the perpendicular bluffs that bound the basin the aspect of mountains. This curve presents an unbroken blue outline, except in one point, and through that chasm is seen the Illinois, whose cliffs are just discovered fading away in the distance at the east.

"Between such magnificent outlines, from the foot of the Mamelles, the prairie, in ascending towards the north, has a width of five miles, and is seventy miles in length. On the Mississippi side, the prairie touches the river for most of this distance. The aspect of the whole surface is smooth and level, the verdure charming, and the eye reposes upon it with delight. Houses at eight miles distance over this plain seem just at your feet. A few spreading trees, planted by the hand, are dotted here and there upon the surface. Two fine islands of wood-land, of a circular form, diversify the view. Large flocks of cattle and horses are seen grazing together; and frequently a herd of wild deer is seen bounding over the plain. In the autumn, immense flocks of pelicans, sand-bills, cranes, geese, swans, ducks, and all kinds of aquatic fowls, are seen hovering over it. The soil is of the easiest culture, and the most exuberant productiveness. The farms are laid out in parallelograms. At the foot of the Mamelles are clumps of hazel bushes, pawpaws, wild grapes, and prairie plums, in abundance. The grass is thick and tall. Corn and wheat grow in the greatest perfection. When I first saw this charming scene, 'Here,' said I to my companion who guided me, 'here shall be my farm, and here I will end my days!' In effect, take it all in all, I have not seen, before nor since, a landscape which united, in an equal degree, the grand, the beautiful, and fertile. It is not necessary, on seeing it, to be very young or very romantic, in order to have dreams steal over the mind, of spending an American life in these remote plains, which

just begin to be vexed with the plough, far removed from the haunts of wealth and fashion, in the midst of rustic plenty, and of this beautiful nature.

"I will only add, that it is intersected with two or three canals—apparently the former beds of the river; that the soil is mellow, friable, and of an inky blackness; that it immediately absorbs the rain, and affords a road always dry and beautiful to Portage des Sioux. It yields generally forty bushels of wheat, and seventy of corn, to the acre. *The vegetable soil has a depth of forty feet, and earth thrown from the bottom of the wells is as fertile as that on the surface.* At a depth of forty feet are found logs, leaves, pieces of pit-coal, and a stratum of sand and pebbles, bearing evident marks of the former attrition of running waters. *Here are 100,000 acres of land of this description fit for the plough.*"

The work of Mr. Stuart is much praised in the English journals as the best which has yet been written on the now interesting subject of America. The observations of this writer, meager as they are, undoubtedly present a body of facts, from which many correct and important inferences may be drawn as to the state of our country and the situation and manners of the people. The cheapness of living, the universality of comfort, the intelligence, morality, industry, and energy of the population, are abundantly, though incidentally shown. The object of the traveller was not to vilify, ridicule, or condemn after the fashion of his predecessors. His partialities on the contrary, appear to be all on the side of America. His praises are constant and indiscriminate, and sometimes undeserved. Indeed, from the severity of his comments on the work of Mrs. Trollope, his perpetual comparison of things here with things in England, and his preference of the former, and the tone of eulogy which pervades his whole work, we were forced to reflect, that there is now a liberal, we might almost say, a republican party in Great Britain, and cannot help suspecting that Mr. Stuart has written, not without a view to political effect. Three years ago, we think, such a work would not have been written by an Englishman or praised in an English journal;—but the events of the few last years have shown a mighty change in public opinion—the people of the old countries are looking to the virgin soil, the vast territories, the unbounded resources, and free institutions of America, as the land of promise and happiness; the low abuse, the petty ridicule, the bigoted illiberality, the absurd arrogance, and the gross misrepresentation of a Mrs. Trollope or a Captain Hall, would not now be tolerated. Of the merits and defects of Mr. Stuart's work, the extracts we have made, will in some degree enable our readers to judge. He is evidently not equal to the task he has undertaken. He travelled over a vast extent of country, marked by striking differences of soil, climate, scenery, and population. He was in a nation distinguished from all others by the most interesting peculiarities. Mr. Stuart's observations are singularly common-place, trifling, and scanty. An air of sterility and dulness pervades his work. He does not appear capable of appreciating the objects of real interest which invited his attention, or to be

aware of their existence. His mind seems incapable of rising to the contemplation of the grand characteristics which mark the nation. Throughout the whole work there is not a single philosophic reflection or general inference, and scarcely a remark that deserves the name of thought. A large portion of the two volumes consists of extracts from other writers and from newspapers, historical details, and copies of public documents. The rest is little else than an uninteresting enumeration of the petty events of each day, a minute account of the state of the roads and of the accommodations at the inns, the bill of fare, at breakfast, dinner, and supper, from the stately sirloin and tempting canvass-back, to the salt and butter inclusive. Many of his pages are filled with anecdotes of private life, ridiculous twaddle and petty gossip, all given with the names of the parties in a manner not likely to prove very agreeable to them, or very interesting to the British public. We give the following as a specimen. He was at the plantation of Mr. Henderson, in Illinois.

"The young ladies, of whom there were two at home, were very anxious to have every thing nice. I drank tea with them. One of them was named Miss Henderson, and the other Miss Langdon. I afterwards found that Mrs. Henderson had been twice married, Mr. Langdon being her first husband, and that Mrs. Henderson had borne twins to each of her husbands.

"Mr. Henderson is from Georgia, and has been here only two years. The evening was cold; and a fire was put in the bed-room without being asked for. There was only one bed-room for strangers in this house. It contained three beds, all of which were occupied. I do not know what would have happened if a greater number of strangers had arrived. There was merely a leathern latch to the door.

"I found, on getting up next morning before five o'clock, that the fire was lighted in the parlour, and a cup of coffee and a bit of toast was prepared before I entered it, and this was from pure civility. No charge made for it. I told Miss Henderson that I was going on to Colonel Soard's, and she sent by me her best compliments to the family."

We must here take leave of Mr. Stuart. We thank him for his good opinion of America, and for the general accuracy of his observations as far as they extend. His intentions were doubtless good; we regret that his powers were unequal to their full and satisfactory execution.

ART. IX.—*The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth. Containing the Anglo-Saxon Policy, and the Institutions arising out of Laws and Usages which prevailed before the Conquest.* By FRANCIS PALGRAVE, F. R. S. & F. S. A. London: 1832.

THE laws and constitution of England present so many points of resemblance and useful comparison with our own institutions,

that a work tracing their rise and progress, distinguished for deep research and extensive learning, cannot fail to arrest the attention of American scholars and jurists. Independently of the interest naturally excited by the topics of Mr. Palgrave's book, it has recently been pressed into the service of the most momentous controversy that ever agitated our country. Aside from its great merit, the circumstance of its having been cited in the Senate of the United States in support of a claim on the part of a member of this great confederacy to bid defiance to the laws of the Union, would alone be a sufficient reason for our subjecting it to an examination. Having thus been presented to the notice of the American people as an authority, it cannot be a ground of complaint, if we adduce it for the refutation of the theory which it was brought forward to sustain.

The first part of Mr. Palgrave's work, the only one yet published, relates to "the Anglo-Saxon policy, and the institutions arising out of laws and usages which prevailed before the conquest."

Various classes of the Teutonic race succeeded the Romans in the subjugation and possession of England. The Jutes and the Angles who had occupied the peninsula of Jutland with the Saxons, who were more widely dispersed, mingled together in the conquest of the island, and formed that Anglo-Saxon community which became the ground-work of those social and political institutions that have occupied so large a space in the eyes of mankind. The early political career of Great Britain was impeded by the numerous independent states into which it was divided. Having been distributed by the Romans, in their usual manner, into districts or *civitates*, they continued after the misfortunes of the empire had placed them in an attitude of independence, and until the Saxon invasion, separated into numerous sovereignties. They had their popular assemblies, senates, and temporary magistrates. The early Constitution of Rome was the model of their institutions. The absence of a common jurisdiction to preserve a harmonious intercourse, and check the aspirations of individual or sectional ambition, produced as in every similar case its first fruits, civil wars, and its ultimate result, the establishment of monarchical power. Incessant dissensions soon subverted the republics of Britain, and rendered it proverbial for its tyrants. Foreign invasion and conquest terminated their political existence, and involved them in abject misery and bondage. During the Heptarchy—an inaccurate appellation—more than seven independent sovereignties exercised dominion in England; two tribes, the Scots and the Picts, divided Scotland; and Wales, contracted as it is in dimensions, acknowledged the power of several rulers. Force defectively performed, what reason in a barbarous age had failed to accomplish, and the subjugation of Eng-

land under one government, not only terminated the feuds which had retarded the prosperity and the moral and intellectual advancement of all its divisions, but ultimately gave her an ascendancy over Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

The union of these countries has created one of the most powerful empires that ever existed.

It is not only by the extent of its dominions, power, and wealth, that Great Britain has acquired distinction, but by the general excellence of its constitution, which, although far from being perfect, is superior to any political system in Europe, and in its capacity for the preservation of freedom and social order, surpasses most of the governments of antiquity. For many of the most valuable and prominent attributes of constitutional liberty are we indebted to that constitution. Popular representation, independence in the judiciary, trial by jury, and the writ of habeas corpus, were either originated in it, or so highly improved and adapted to the practical purposes of mankind, that it may well be deemed entitled to respect as the parent of those admirable regulations by which general freedom and social order are combined.

The principles of the English constitution, in their rudest state, may no doubt be traced to a very remote origin, but no period can be ascertained as the commencement of its existence in a systematic form. The rude symmetry of the Anglo-Saxon institutions was gradually subverted, and for a long period feudality superseded every other political system. In Magna Charta, a government is exhibited founded upon laws, and subjected to restrictions, and about half a century afterwards, a parliament with a popular representation was assembled. Subsequent revolutions improved and strengthened it, so that in a career of many hundred years, we find the principles of freedom, which are exhibited in the rude institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, gradually matured and acquiring that systematic association which renders their operation effective, until we behold the constitutional fabric in its present condition. The greatest improvements in the English government are of comparatively recent origin, and have resulted from revolutions. Monarchical oppression has produced resistance, and the despotic ruler has been forced to purchase his continuance on the throne, and in many instances his existence, by yielding a part of his power, which has usually been done in the form of concessions. English rights thus appear to be emanations from the crown, and are secured by charters. In few countries have revolutions been so entirely subservient to the vindication of constitutional principles. Here they have usually resulted in the increased freedom and improvement of society. This may partly be ascribed to the peculiar character of the people, but it is probably owing in a greater extent to the circum-

stance, that in their struggles they have had a definite object in view, and have looked to the vindication of constitutional rights, whose precise nature, either from experience or tradition, they fully comprehended. Society, seldom bewildered by imaginary happiness or freedom, having redressed the injuries which had aroused it to resistance, returned to its wonted order, content with the rights which had been obtained. However recently the English constitution is first exhibited in its full vigour, yet the elements of which it is composed possess every appearance of antiquity, and the Anglo-Saxon institutions are well worthy of examination as the best illustration of their earliest history.

The institutions among the Anglo-Saxons bear so strong and natural a resemblance to those which prevailed among the other Teutonic states, that it is difficult satisfactorily to understand without an investigation of the rest. The brief memorials of an unlettered people can only be fully comprehended by a comparison and examination of them all. Emanating from the east, the Teutonic race gradually extended its dominion over the fairest portion of Europe, and laid the foundation of the most powerful and enlightened nations of modern times. Divided into tribes, they waged their predatory hostilities, and organized communities in countries which they had conquered. Wars and the innovations of time have gradually destroyed the distinctive characteristics of this great race of men, and nations have grown up from the same origin, differing in language, customs, and laws. The small Teutonic states became mingled into national masses. But in their pristine condition there existed among them an affinity and similarity of institutions, by which the race could be plainly designated. We sometimes behold them formed into small independent communities, and at other periods composing extensive confederacies under the control of a common sovereign, but always retaining the management of their local affairs in their distinct divisions. The community was the original source of sovereign authority, but the principle and the practice, affected by the various conditions of different portions of the race, varied with the inevitable mutations of human affairs. The Teutonic states had an evident tendency to confederation. Among a rude and barbarous people, continually engaged in wars and dissensions, there must have existed in their habits, feelings, and institutions, a powerful preservative against that irresistible tendency to despotic power, which, among other portions of mankind, has been found in the splendour of royalty and military success. When Egbert subdued the Heptarchy, the monarchical authority of each state vested in him, yet the other powers of the community remained the same. England acquired one sovereign, but was still divided into many states, which became and continued confederated by the success of the King of Wessex.

The extent and general excellence of the Teutonic confederacies have given rise to the supposition that they were derived from a preceding age of greater civilization; but as the virtue of a people consists as much in adhering to a free constitution as in creating it, the merit of their formation, in the absence of any accurate information to the contrary, may justly be ascribed to those among whom they are found to exist. When Cæsar visited Gaul, he found it composed of numerous well organized confederacies. The Britons were deficient in this respect, and fell easy victims to their conquerors. When the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons, first invaded England, the leaders possessed none of the attributes of royalty. Monarchical power did not exist among them. It was subsequently acquired. Political authority was in the community, and the power of the chieftain emanated from it.

"The principles," says Mr. Palgrave, "connecting the component parts of the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth, differed essentially from the grounds of modern policy and of modern public law. We consider that the powers of government result from the right which the sovereign possesses over the land in which the people dwell: the allegiance of the subject arises from the spot of his domicile, or the accident of his birth-place; and the modern law of nations teaches us that the state is constituted by the arbitrary or geographical boundaries which determine its extent and limit its jurisdiction. This is the principle of the modern commonwealth; but the scheme of government adopted by ancient nations was essentially patriarchal. Kings were the leaders of the people, not the lords of the soil; and their authority was exerted in the first instance over the persons of their subjects, not over the territories which composed their dominion."

We can only trace the general features of the Teutonic system; and among these their identity, the principle just mentioned—that the power vested in the community, and their federative character are prominent. Superior power, the presence of danger, and mutual interests, all operated in producing their confederation. Military force was necessarily connected with all their operations. It is difficult to deduce, from the political systems of a barbarous people, principles applicable to enlightened nations. Originally independent, and warlike tribes of the same race, the causes or power which brought them together, kept them united; but if among a turbulent people an instance can be discovered, where military force destroyed a political union, the example cannot be the foundation upon which to build a right. As to destroying the integrity of a nation, neither reason nor history draws any distinction between a confederacy, and a consolidated government, except that the former has been more frequently the victim of dissensions. But the means by which they both have been assailed, have ever been the same. Force has prevailed, and reason has been silenced by the clamour of arms. We have already alluded to the dissensions which prevailed among the Anglo-Saxon states prior to their union under Egbert. A well regulated confederacy, amicably organized, would have averted the evils of conquest, and secured the dominion of law.

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They appear not to have been insensible to the advantages of good government, and models among their own race on the continent, were within their reach. As the dissensions among the Britons were the cause of their subjugation, so the rivalry and animosities of the Anglo-Saxon states made them the victims of Danish invasions, and facilitated the success of Egbert.

"All the Anglo-Saxon states professed one faith, spoke one language, and the depression of any one kingdom ought, in truth, to have been considered as the misfortune of the whole community. The Romans and Anglo-Saxons had successively prevailed over the Britons, principally by reason of their dissensions, which had prevented them from withstanding their common enemies. Acuin, the friend of Charlemagne, in the epistles which he addressed to his English countrymen, exhorted them to bear in mind the example afforded them by the ancient annals of the island. From his cloister, he bade them turn to the pages of Gildas, and employ the history of the past in its best use, as a lesson for their present time. But no warning could prevail; and the conquerors, in their turn, were now about to become the victims of the same short-sighted passion and folly: they continued turning their spears against each other, unmindful of the foemen who were preparing to reduce them to the utmost misery."—*Pal. His. Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 104.*

The difference in the form of the social and political compact, more closely affects the extent of the power vested in the government, than the right of the political association to exercise its power to preserve its existence. The identity of the people composing the several states, and the laws which regulate their confederated movements, are as clearly marked, and conspicuous, as those of any other political system. The political affinity of a people, that peculiar tie which unites them, and that distinctive character which separates them from the rest of mankind, may be observable in all forms of governments; and, unless severed and destroyed by a violent concussion in society, exists for ages, marking them as one people. This political unity will sometimes exist, when distance has produced a separation of the parts of a race of men.

"The social bonds," says Palgrave, "which unite the individuals of the Calmuck horde into a body politic, are equally strong, whether their tents be pitched on the banks of the Volga, or beneath the shadow of the wall of China. Possessing a moral identity, which cannot be delineated by the pen, or plotted out on the map, the Tartar state does not depend upon latitude or longitude; the nation is not circumscribed within a definite frontier. It is not the extent of the encampment which has given rise to the reciprocal obligations of the sovereign and the Nomade; wherever the Tartar wanders, he obeys the banner of his chieftain, and acknowledges no other fealty; whenever he hears the voice of a brother, he finds his country."

The separation into states, if they be confederated, and the exclusiveness of the local government of each, do not appear to be repugnant to national unity, or to sanction any act on the part of an individual state opposed to the interests or regulations of the confederates.

"The degree of self-government," says Palgrave, "vested in each distinct jurisdiction, is not derived from the grant or concession of the common chief-

tain, but retained by the members after they have become an aggregate whole. In this manner, the first establishment of the Teutonic states was effected. They were assemblages of septs, clans, and tribes; they were confederated hosts and armies, led on by princes, magistrates, and chieftains: each of whom was originally independent, and each of whom lost a portion of his pristine independence, in proportion as he and his compeers became united under the supremacy of a sovereign, who was superinduced upon the state, first as a military commander, and afterwards as a king. Yet, notwithstanding this political connexion, each member of the state continued to retain a considerable portion of the rights of sovereignty. Every ancient Teutonic monarchy must be considered as a federation; it is not a unit, of which the smaller bodies politic therein contained are the fractions, but they are the integers, and the state is the multiplicand which results from them."

Mr. Calhoun, in his speech in the Senate, at the last session of Congress, cited the above passage in support of the doctrines of South Carolina, and contended that the attitude assumed by that state, was fully warranted by the theory of confederated governments. He assumed the position, that that constitutional system, when once organized, sanctioned the right of secession, or of refusing obedience to the confederate laws: but he did not refer to the responsibilities and restrictions imposed upon all the parts after they had become an aggregate whole. It is apparent, however, that Mr. Palgrave's reasoning has no reference to the doctrine advocated by Mr. Calhoun; and if it expressly recognised so singular a power, we should have no difficulty in destroying the weight of the authority, by showing the dissimilarity between the Teutonic states, and our own country. So far from the right of resistance or secession being an inherent property, or in any manner attributable to a Teutonic confederacy, it is certain that the history of that system of government abounds with testimony of their total disconnexion with it. Not that we would be understood as asserting that instances have not occurred of a separation of the members of a confederacy: but this has happened frequently to consolidated empires; and both cases have been effected by force. Internal dissensions, despotism, and foreign invasions, have produced the dismemberment of nations; and, when the breach has been made, the line of separation has been either a geographical, religious, or political division by which one portion of the population has been dis severed from another, as in a mineral the strata yield to the blow, and the parts fall asunder in masses. The existence of these lines of demarcation in a nation always endangers its integrity. The British government, for example, finds its chief peril in the distinctive character, and insular position of Ireland; and we have recently seen Belgium renounce an union with a neighbouring state, with which it had no political identity. Notwithstanding the looseness of the Swiss confederacy, so strong is the national affinity, that it would be difficult to separate them: whilst there are many consolidated monarchies kept together only by military power. Four centuries have not been able to amalgamate the Greek and Turk po-

pulations, or to destroy the spirit of resistance among the former, who, without an organized government, arose against their oppressors as one people, and vindicated that unity of national character which distinguished their fathers at Marathon and Plataea. A view of the history of mankind, will abundantly sustain the assertion that it is neither forms of government, nor geographical lines, which constitute the identity of a people: this, after all, amidst the revolutions and disasters to which all countries are liable, forms the firm basis of national strength and security. France, in this respect, is more fortunate, as being less in danger of dismemberment than Great Britain. Two or more distinct races of men, having no political affinity, may be united under one central consolidated government; and the converse proposition is equally true, that one people connected by the closest political affinity, and bearing the marks of an identity palpable to the most careless observer, may form distinct confederated communities. The distribution of political powers, and the territorial demarcation, provided there be a bond of national union, without which the distinctive national character soon ceases to exist, does not essentially affect that popular identity which distinguishes one people from another, and which each individual carries with him, however remotely he may wander from the paternal altar.

History furnishes many examples of this political confederated unity, if we may be allowed to use the phrase, the *E. pluribus unum*, independently of those more extensive systems which have combined within their jurisdictions, states possessing dissimilar casts of character, and local governments of various organization.

"Attica," says Palgrave, "under Cecrops, exhibited a state considered as a *united population*, yet containing twelve distinct states, or municipal jurisdiction, which were incorporated into the commonwealth of Athens by the policy of Theseus: and this federative organization appears to have been deeply implanted amongst the nations of the Pelasgic race; for the twelve Princes who shared the sovereignty of the Phæacians beneath the supremacy of Alcinous, present the aspect of a state formed by a similar union of twelve dependent lordships."

To constitute one people, they should not only possess that identity which belongs to the same race of men, but should be politically united. Two distinct races may exist under a common government, but from the Grecians to the African inhabitants of the western hemisphere, we have abundant evidence of the impracticability of amalgamating them into one community. So on the contrary, without political association, people of the same race may be divided. If ever a people united the two qualities essential to constitute one people, it is the American. These attributes form the firmest and happiest foundation for a national character, and with such a powerful and durable cement, nothing but barbarian violence or utter infatuation can dissever

a political fabric so closely and so beautifully constructed. Had the states ever been disunited, and, like the Grecians, spent the infancy of their career in sanguinary hostilities; if different dialects marked their language, and various gods presided over their destinies; if the achievements of their heroes, and the songs of their poets preserved the remembrance of glory or disgrace in their early enmities; then might Greece be referred to as an illustration of the character and institutions of the American people, instead of merely furnishing the materials for reflection on the horrors of civil wars, and the ruin arising from the infringement of a confederated constitution. But the completeness of our national unity is as conspicuous as the excellence of our political association.

A familiar example of each day's occurrence, will illustrate the foregoing views. Suppose an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman to meet on a foreign soil, what are they, and of what national origin do they boast? The national character is lost in their local attachments, and it would be in vain to expect much affection between the Caledonian and his southern neighbour, or any thing but aversion on the part of the Hibernian for either. Try the experiment with a citizen of Massachusetts, a Kentuckian, and a Carolinian, (we would even take a moderate nullifier.) On foreign ground they greet each other as Americans, as "parts of one stupendous whole," and in the display of their pride of country—their exultation in its renown, freedom, and prosperity, their local feelings are invisible. It is only at home and among partisans, that sectional ambition conceals the noble and all-comprehensive national feeling. The American people have a common origin. They were diverging branches from the same stock. Having no early hostilities or prejudices, and being politically connected, they possess a more strongly marked national identity than any other people in the world. Their division into distinct communities would have affected their national unity and homogeneousness, had there not been a bond of union, a common government to which they habitually looked for protection, and national renown and peril which amalgamated their feelings, and fixed their affections on all the states as their country. At first the title to the soil vested in the king of England by the right of discovery, purchase from the Indians, or conquest; it was transferred by him to individuals or companies, and under their proprietary government, the first settlements were made; the Revolution annulled their connexion with England, and the political rights of the proprietors. The title to the soil, and all political power vested in the people, and the exercise of political authority was by them distributed, by constitutions formed by their representatives in the manner which they in the exercise of their discretion thought the most conducive to

their safety and happiness. They naturally preserved the colonial divisions, and converted them into states. But it is impossible to deduce any theory from these geographical formations of communities, inconsistent with a national identity so glaring. And, on the other hand, the existence of a common government and the political unity of the American family, can never be fairly used to lessen the rightful authority of the states, or to sanction consolidation. The individuality of the states, and their national unity, are not inconsistent, and as they form the basis of American freedom and institutions, they should ever be preserved from violation, and their association distinctly understood as the surest safeguard from the introduction of either of the political heresies which have infatuated or alarmed aspiring politicians—consolidation on the one hand, and the right of secession on the other. The Teutonic confederacies fully illustrate and sustain the doctrine of national unity with state individuality. We have no evidence that in that rude age, political associations, when once formed, could be dissolved in any other manner than by force, or by the voluntary act of all the parties to them, and we have not been able to discover any case which will sanction Mr. Calhoun's inference that because the smaller parts of a confederacy are the integers, and the state the multiplicand, there existed any authority to refuse a compliance with the federal laws, or to throw off obedience to the supreme central authority at pleasure. It would have been a novel doctrine and difficult to be sustained, particularly under such a monarch as Charlemagne, who neither amalgamated the parts of his empire, nor permitted those parts to resist his authority.

"Charlemagne," says Palgrave, "laboured to extend his dominions from the Ebro to the Oder; and well might he glory in the magnificence of his throne. But the refined notion which imputes to him the design of forming a 'great people,' is as little supported by the facts as by the opinions and policy of the middle ages. Charlemagne neither sought nor effected any amalgamation of the parts composing his empire. Law followed the person. The Theodosian Code or the Salic Doom was an inheritance. Each nation, race, and tribe continued to submit as a separate community. The several descendants of the Roman, the Goth, the Frank, and the Lombard, could each respectively claim the rights which their fathers had possessed. A similar right was asserted by communities. The municipal franchises possessed by the ancient cities of Roman Gaul, were modified by the political circumstances of the times; they might be wholly lost, if the Roman population died away amidst the new races who poured in amongst them. Decay and misery accompanied the barbarian invasions; but there was no general proscription of the municipalities by the intruders; and, until the fleur-de-lys was blotted out from the royal shield, many cities could deduce the political existence of their corporations in uninterrupted descent, not only from the era of the Roman Empire, but from the first dawn of authentic history. The provinces overspread by the Visigoths, retained their Roman jurisprudence and their other institutions, which so long distinguished the 'Pays du droit écrit' from the other component parts of the Frankish monarchy.

"If the Roman portions of the Carlovingian empire thus assert their national existence, the Teutonic members display still greater autonomy. Confirmed and

republished by the Frankish Kings, the laws of the Salians, the Ripuarians, the Frisons, the Bavarians, the Alemanni, the Saxons, the Werini, are to be viewed as so many charters, which ensured to each of these nations their distinct and several governments beneath the Imperial sceptre.

"Many of these masses of population were ruled by their ancient dynasties; all still possessed those ancient modes of Teutonic government, according to which a substantial share of political power continued vested in the community. But these bodies gravitated towards a common centre, and many causes were in silent operation, tending to increase the power of the crown and to prepare the way for a political union: though centuries elapsed before such incorporation was accomplished and fulfilled."

Although nations thus differing from one another would not, when brought under the control of the same sovereign, so readily amalgamate as if a greater similarity existed, yet they furnished the monarch more powerful means of concentrating all the power in himself. They could easily be made the fit instruments in the hands of an aspiring monarch, of subverting their local governments, for they would more readily wage war upon each other, and could with more difficulty be brought to combine for their common defence. Nothing is better adapted to a game of despotism, than a dominion extending over distinct communities having no affinity, for by an artful disposal of armies selected from each, they could be made subservient to the scheme of tyranny.

If "centuries" were required to produce an amalgamation of communities similar to these, governed by a monarch, with an extensive military force always under his control, we need not apprehend much evil from any supposed tendency of our system to consolidation. We have, however, a great source of encouragement for its durability in the consideration of the singular identity of national character which pervades the country, and the similarity of feeling, religious tolerance, laws, political principles, and language, which in a great measure constitute the features by which one people are to be recognised. Whilst other nations consider but a few of these as sufficient to designate their unity, the American people possess them all, thus presenting to the view an unchequered and unadulterated national character.

There are few properties of mankind more conspicuous and remarkable than the tenacity with which a people will adhere for ages to the peculiar traits and attributes which distinguish them from the rest of mankind. The memorials of their race are preserved with care; whilst the manners and customs of their ancestors are perpetuated to remote posterity. So devotedly attached are they to their national character, that they cherish it with passion: even its faults are often viewed with pride, and they find a source of gratification in vindicating its antiquity. The Greeks and Romans traced their origin from the gods, and the vanity of the people was inflated by poetic fictions of their divine descent, and perpetual duration. Naturalists have enume-

rated five races of men, the Caucasian, Negro, Tartar, American, and Malay, but the historical distribution of the human species is much more numerous and extensively diversified. In our use of the term race, we of course apply it in its historical sense, and are to be understood as meaning that political conformity by which one portion of mankind is distinguished in their laws, usages, and political association from all others. Even in this sense it is susceptible of a more minute division, and whilst the various species of a race are clearly distinguishable by features of a dissimilar cast, their generical attributes mark the great class to which they belong. The Teutonic race for example, may be observed stretching over the fairest portion of Europe in the middle ages, preserving the same general characteristic wherever it existed, whilst the tribes, whether Saxons, Normans, Danes, or Franks, and many more into which it was divided, possessed a peculiar local dissimilarity. Through a course of centuries, in some instances time and local causes have dis severed the tie of contiguity and propinquity, whilst in others we discover all the distinguishing traits moulded down, and all the peculiar properties mingling into a common mass. It is the peculiar good fortune of our country not only to have been peopled by one race of men, but to exhibit no subordinate divisions; septs, clans, and tribes, being unknown among us, and there being no distinguishable feature by which one American can be discovered from another. All our distinctions are in our constitutional political associations, the compacts by which the people have agreed to be governed, the geographical borders which mark the commencement of one community and the termination of another. So long as these political distinctions shall be preserved for the purpose of administering political authority, and as the safeguards of the rights of a free people, we shall have abundant cause for rejoicing in their existence; but the period which shall behold them perverted to the purposes of dismemberment, and of the destruction of that national identity which forms the firm basis of the free institutions of the American people, and of rearing in their place rival states or confederacies, must be accompanied by that military ardour, and strength of state executive authority, which will ultimately place these happy communities under monarchical control.

Confederated government was formed at a very early period, both among barbarous and civilized nations. The prominent evil—a liability to dismemberment—which has always destroyed it in other countries, had never been corrected until the formation of the Constitution of the United States. In reasoning upon Federal government, we must carefully reject the error which appears to have misled many honest minds, and furnished the means for

artful men to impose upon their credulity, of considering the evils of the system, the violence, or artifices by which a state has escaped a compliance with the federal regulations, as constituting a part of the system. The refusal of the Grecian States to submit to the authority of the Amphictionic Council, was in violation of that league, and yet we find these very acts which deformed, weakened, and finally ruined Greece, extolled, as constituting the spirit and the beauty of a confederacy. The power of requiring obedience to its laws, is an essential property of all governments; their success in so doing depends upon their strength and the popularity of their laws. A weak government will have its regulations violated with impunity; but to applaud that turbulent spirit, which involves society in confusion to gratify interest or ambition, displays feelings which it is not befit an upright, free, and virtuous community to encourage.

Mr. Palgrave mentions the earliest example of a confederacy among barbaric nations, to be "the state which the Tectosagi, the Trocmi, and the Tolistobogii, founded in the heart of Asia Minor." It terminated in a monarchy. It is impossible to deduce any connexion between the early confederated governments of antiquity, and those of the middle ages, and yet their existed a great resemblance between them. From their extent and numbers, as well as the circumstance that governments have seldom been formed, particularly among barbarous communities, with deliberation, we may conclude that the federal system is as natural as any other, and that in a majority of cases it has arisen from a spontaneous tendency in people possessed of national identity, to congregate for their common security and welfare, without disturbing the organization of their local governments. A comparison between these political institutions so strongly illustrates their nature, that Mr. Palgrave, in treating of the Teutonic communities, has extended his observations to the federal systems of antiquity. Greece presents too many attractions to be overlooked. A faithful inquiry into the causes of the dissensions that seemed to riot in the vitals of that accomplished people, and plunged them into an untimely servitude and degradation, will fully unfold all the dangers and advantages of the federal system. "Had the primitive laws," says Palgrave, "retained their vigour, the wisdom of the Amphictionic Council would have prevented all wars amongst the kindred nations subject to the common authority of the sacred tribunal."

The Grecians began their national career as a divided people, and the jealousies, wars, and prejudices of the early period of their existence, were never entirely eradicated. The heroes, the glory, and the achievements of each state, were too often identified with successful hostilities on a neighbouring state, and the remembrance of the degradation of the latter was perpetuated to

excite inimical feelings, when the national welfare and independence required the suppression of all local enmities, and uninterrupted concord. The subjugation of Messenia to the sanguinary despotism of Sparta, and the plunder and massacre of Delphi, by the Crisseans, and the Peloponnesian wars, are prominent but not the only examples of the ferocity and cruelty with which they assailed one another. The various dialects which destroyed the uniformity of their language, and gave to the literature of each state a tinge peculiar to itself, might obstruct, though it could not have prevented a perfect political union. The ground-work of the population was national, but each state possessed strong incentives to preserve its independence. At first we see them under kings, sometimes rivals, and at other times forming a feeble union to accomplish a common object. Under the republican system, even after the establishment of the Amphictionic Council, the turbulence of the states often involved them in the most imminent perils. That assembly was originally composed of the representatives of but twelve states, but after the conquest of the Peloponnesians by the Dorians, who were members of it, its jurisdiction was extended over all the states. Under a less warlike, and divided people, the Amphictionic league would have been too feeble to preserve the peace and independence of the states; amidst the continual commotion with which they were infested, its authority was seldom sufficient to protect the weaker from the encroachments of the strong, or fully to accomplish any of the objects of its organization. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, in succession domineered over so loose a confederacy, and displayed a sanguinary despotism in the exercise of their power. The larger states, by corruption or intimidation, were enabled to influence the decisions of the judicial council. When relieved from the danger of foreign invasion, their dissensions disturbed the repose and prosperity of the country; even when their national independence was in jeopardy, it was not always found practicable to induce them to concentrate their resources for their common security. At the time of the invasion by Xerxes, although the suspension of internal dissensions invigorated the federal authority, a number of the states openly, and several covertly, aided the cause of the enemy. Such was the condition of a people whom we have been in the habit of admiring, and who present many of the finest examples of virtue and genius, that adorned antiquity. All the states possessed citizens remarkable for intellectual and moral excellence, and the existence of society, and its renown sufficiently prove that the mass of the population contained the materials for a far higher social and political organization than that which existed. We cannot view that distinguished people, suffering under the sanguinary dissensions which restricted their improvement, without feelings of

deep regret that they had not cemented their union and perpetuated their freedom by a government sufficiently firm to prevent the usurpations of sectional power, and the lawless aspirations of individual ambition. Neither of these objects can be accomplished if the government be not sufficiently strong to enforce the execution of its laws. Greece presents a striking example of the danger of permitting a state to exercise any influence in the decision of a controversy in which it may have an interest, for it was the want of independence in the organization of the Amphictionic Council, that enabled the strong states to encroach upon the rights of the weak. Its decrees were disregarded with impunity, if opposed to the wishes or interests of the Athenians and Spartans. Resistance by those states to its authority, involved the other states in an alliance with Philip of Macedon, and enabled him to acquire by corruption and force, an ascendant in the confederacy, which ended in its subversion. Without a common arbiter, an independent judicial tribunal, which can fearlessly decide, and carry its decrees into execution, it is impossible for any free government to exist. Mr. Palgrave's remarks upon this subject should be read in connexion with the version which Mr. Calhoun gave to another part of his work.

"The utility," says he, "of admitting of a mediating authority, even though purchased by some sacrifice of individual self-will or liberty, cannot be better exemplified than by adverting to the downfall of the federative states, whether ancient or modern, which have wanted a central point of judicial union. No man ought to be judge in his own cause: and great as the evil may prove when a Sultan or a Sophi assumes that office, the oppressions of despotism only change their form, without being less vexatious, when the citizen has to combat a tyrant in every one of his equals. Time alone can show whether the institutions of the republics of English America are capable of counteracting the vices and wickedness of democracy; but the political student will be instructed by observing, that even now, there are symptoms of approaching dissensions between the Supreme Court and the states of the Union; which if not repressed, must end either by destroying the controlling jurisdiction assigned to the judges who administer the federal law; or by investing them with rights approaching to a sovereign prerogative, and hitherto unknown to the Anglo-American Constitution."

During the short period of the existence of our government, we have had abundant evidence of the danger to which the federal judicature is exposed, and there is no description of students who are more competent to appreciate the difficulties under which the Amphictionic Council struggled, than American citizens. When we consider the improved condition of society, the superiority of the people in intelligence, the extensive channels of communication which did not exist among the ancients—when we compare the unparalleled similarity which pervades our country in language, habits, and general political doctrines, and view the continual efforts to thwart the execution of the decisions, or to create opposition to the very existence of the federal judiciary—we cannot be surprised that among the Greeks a similar autho-

rity should have been compelled to yield to the arbitrary dictation of powerful states, who had been accustomed to bid defiance to every power which attempted to control their turbulence and ambition. The history of other confederacies, so far from presenting models for our imitation, should deter us from following the path which led them to ruin. The wisdom of the patriotic founders of our government, with the examples of all other confederacies before them, and with the cause of their destruction so plainly exhibited in the weakness of the federal authority, is entitled to the credit of having introduced into the federal system, a new mode of operation which at the same time that it does not interfere with the principles whereon that polity is founded, secures it from violation. Instead of making the federal authority to operate on the states, or compelling it to resort to them for support, they conferred on it an independent jurisdiction over the people, placed under its control military forces, and invested it with the power to provide a revenue for its support. By cautiously defining the bounds of the respective jurisdictions, and creating an independent judiciary, whose decrees were to be enforced without requiring the assistance of the states, stability was given to the system at the same time that it preserved all the excellencies of the federal character. Had the Amphictionic Council possessed a similar jurisdiction, the destiny of Greece would have been different, for it would have been able to call to its support the virtuous and patriotic of all the communities; and state usurpations, meeting with a firm resistance within their own borders, would have been deprived of half their vigour, when the power rose from the bosom of the community to check and subvert them.

At the period when our knowledge of the Teutonic states begins, there existed no common civil jurisdiction, to decide their controversies, or to regulate their political movements. Danger forced them to co-operate for their security, and the leaders on whom they conferred the command exercised the power which they possessed to prevent dissensions, and to dispense justice among the tribes under their military authority. As war was in a great measure the occupation, and the chief source of the glory of the rude inhabitants of those communities, their skill was conspicuous in the military confederacies they organized. The power conferred on the federal head was necessarily arbitrary, and "the Teutonic tribes, whilst war prevailed, submitted to one magistrate, having the power of life and death—the monarch of the community. This dignity, confined to the ruling family, was elective and temporary. Among the old Saxons, one of their ealdormen, who, according to the traditions of the country, were twelve in number, was chosen by lot,

as the war king, his office ceasing with the necessity from which it had arisen."

"Peace, however," continues Palgrave, "deprived them of their common magistracy, and the cessation of external hostilities was the commencement of internal disunion; but they possessed within themselves the means of amelioration; and their peculiar policy, perhaps the wreck or reminiscence of a more perfect system, from which they had degenerated during their wanderings, afforded the ground-work of the general government of the community."

An armed council of the aristocracy, convened to form the preparations for the exigencies of war, was one of the earliest assemblies, and continued even after the formation of systematic governments, which finally superseded them.

"Another of the supreme councils," says Palgrave, "was the supreme judicial assembly, which represented the distinct authority of each rank and order of which the state was composed, and of each jurisdiction which the country included. The court was divided into branches, the first consisting of those who were judges, either in their own right, or as the aulic officers of the king; and the second, of those whose functions were virtually derived from the people. Thus the general 'Placitum,' the *Cour Plénière* of the ancient Franks, was composed of all the bishops, the prelates, the counts, and the baronage, who were within the jurisdiction of the Imperial *Missus*, by whom it was summoned. But none of the powers of judgment could be exercised without the Twelve Echevins of every Centena, who attended the Count to the place of judicature. So essential was the number of Twelve, that if so many echevins could not appear, the complement was to be made up from the 'best men of the county.' In addition to their other functions, the Echevins possessed the powers of legislation. They testified the consent of the people, of whom they were both the judges and the representatives, to the capitularies propounded in behalf of the sovereign."

In the enactment of laws, the consent of the echevins was considered as the act of the people; they were first propounded by the sovereign, who was guided by his council; and the legislative authority was fulfilled without resorting to the concurrence of the community at large.

Mr. Palgrave furnishes an interesting description of the early political Constitution of Sweden.

"A *Lagsagha* of Sweden exhibits the simplest form of judicial and legislative union. Eleven of these provinces, originally independent states, composed the kingdom, each containing many *harreds*, districts which, as we have seen, had a final power of jurisdiction, as far as concerned their territorial rights, and also a power of criminal judicature. But those suits which could not be decided within the limits of the *harred*, were reserved for the high remedial and inquisitorial court of the *reefsting*, which was constituted in the following manner: The '*laghman*,' or lawman, was speaker or president; the bishop, two priests from the Episcopal chapter, and two of the king's council, were associated to him; and if the latter were absent, two good and free-born men were elected, to supply their places, by the lawmen and the clergy. The commonalty were represented by twelve men, who were elected and named by the king and by the landmen. The members of the *namda*, the twelve men who were the judges of the *lagsagha*, were also its legislators on those rare occasions when a new law was required. Thus the revised customal of Upland is prefaced by a charter, which affords some elucidation of their functions. The lawman, in the name and on behalf of the people who had elected him, represented to King

Bergher, that the old laws were hard to bear, and harder to understand, and prayed a remedy for those evils. 'We delayed granting this request,' it is declared by the king; 'for we would not hastily change the 'old law.' At last he issued a precept, by virtue whereof the lawman proceeded to the nomination or election of a *næmda* of twelve men, who were to determine what was the old law of the country, and what was to be shaped and set together in the new law. This task they performed; and the new code, resulting from their declarations and opinions, was read to the assembled *bondes* for their adoption and approval, which being obtained, it was ratified and confirmed by the charter of the king. The *næmda* of the *laghsagha* had also the power of taxation; for no new tax or tribute could be imposed except by their authority. From these delegations the parliaments of the north appear to have originated, in the same manner as the general *placita* of the Franks were formed by the convention of the *scabini* of each *centena*; and the *næmdas* of twelve men were the precursors of the estate of peasants in the more modern diets of the northern kingdoms: for in the singular and eventful history of these states, we can trace the gradual depression, step by step, and stage by stage, of the *bondes*, from the era in which they constituted the very pith and nerve of the nation, to the annihilation of their independence.

"Denmark and Sweden having, in some measure, remodelled their public law from the policy of the German Empire of the middle ages, it may not be irrelevant to exhibit the constitution of another general court, which, though possessing many peculiarities, tends to exhibit the principles of the conformation of the judicial tribunals of Scandinavia, in the remotest antiquity. Iceland, settled by the Northmen before the introduction of Christianity, and whilst they yet retained their ancient customs, without modification or alteration, was composed of districts entitled *godords*, of which the jurisdiction was vested in an hereditary magistrate, called the *godordsman*. He was the priest as well as the judge of his district; sacrifices were performed under his direction, and the rude temples of Thor and Odin, confided to his care. His judicial functions were exercised conjointly with a court of twelve men, a *næmda*, whose office appears to have been in most respects analogous to the same body amongst the *Suiogoths*. The entire island was divided into quarters: the Northern *Fierdyng* contained twelve *godords*, the other three respectively only nine. When the supreme judicial and legislative assembly or '*laugrett*' was convened, the *godordsmen* attended by virtue of their office; but as it was necessary that each district should be represented by the full legal complement of twelve legislators, three additional judges were taken from each southern quarter, and associated to the hereditary *godordsmen*. Every one of these barons of the Icelandic parliament was to take two men from amongst the suitors of his court to bear counsel with him. The ancient code from whence these regulations are derived, is not explicit with respect to the mode by which the counsellors were elected; but they seem to have been named by the suitors of the court of the *godord*. When the *laugrett* was assembled on the Hill of Pleas, it consisted of twelve times twelve, or one hundred and forty-four members, virtually representing the people; to whom were added the bishops and the *laghmen* of the island. In this court the 'Men of Iceland were to reform their laws, if they would.' All reversals of outlawries were effected in the '*laugrett*;' and there all concords were passed which required the assent of the legislature. No measure could be adopted if less than forty-eight members were present. Questions were decided by plurality of votes; and if the minority consisted of any number greater than twelve, then the voters on each side swore that they had given their votes according to good conscience; but if less than twelve were dissentient, that solemn sanction was not required."

We have here presented a regard for the rights of the minority, more judicious than any we have observed in the creed of nullification; and if the adherents of that pernicious theory are disposed to unite with us in an effort to introduce the Icelandic

regulation into our system, we will cheerfully lend our feeble aid in its support; but we must stipulate that the regulation shall be extended to the legislature and future conventions of South Carolina.

The political Constitution of England arises out of its legal institutions. The preservation of the rights of the people is the first object for which government is instituted, and its most important operations are visible in the administration of the laws. The splendour of military glory, and the imposing aspect of political movements, are calculated to attract the attention of careless observers, but it is in dispensing justice, in securing individuals from oppression, that political institutions most intimately affect a community. To enable them successfully to perform these useful functions, the more splendid attributes of government, the armament by which national subjection is repelled, bringing in its train military renown, and a revenue, creating its science and its philosophers, are required. National machinery becomes complex, and it is difficult to see, through its numerous and brilliant evolutions, that it is designed for the protection of the nation from the aggressions of foreign nations, of individuals from the cupidity and assaults of their fellow men. But in the primitive condition of society, the administration of its few and simple laws, constituted the chief duties of the governing power, whilst the national security in war was confided to the arbitrary authority of a military leader.

"Indeed," says Mr. Palgrave, "the history of the law affords the most satisfactory clue to the political history of England. When we peruse the annals of the Teutonic nations—the epithet, Teutonic, being used in its widest sense—the first impression which we receive results from the identity of the ancient laws and modes of government which prevailed amongst them. Like their various languages, which are in truth but dialects of one mother tongue, so their laws are but modifications of one primeval code. In all their wanderings from their parent home, the Teutons bore with them that law which was their birthright and their privilege: and even now we can mark the era when the same principles and doctrines were recognised at Upsala and at Toledo, in Lombardy and in England. But in descending the stream of time, the tokens of relationship diminish, and at length disappear."

The regulations of the Anglo-Saxon communities, have excited high commendation, which they must be thought to deserve, particularly when the age in which they existed and the difficulties with which they were surrounded, are taken into consideration. Among a rude unlettered people, so great an advancement towards a well ordered social condition could not have been expected. The very existence of institutions which have rewarded the researches of the most enlightened modern statesmen, and to which many of the most prominent features of modern governments have been ascribed, is alone sufficient to attract our admiration. The distribution of the people into communities, each invested with the powers of local government and controlled by a superintending

national authority, constitutes a political system the best adapted to promote the prosperity, secure the freedom, and advance the happiness of man. The merit of Alfred must be limited to the improvement and not to the establishment of the counties, tithings, and hundreds, which existed prior to his reign. The imperfections of the Anglo-Saxon institutions are the same with those which degrade the most enlightened modern nations, and cast a shade over the reputations of countries which boast of their freedom. Freemen and slaves formed the great division of their population, but there were classes of people occupying inferior stations in the community, whom it is difficult to arrange with either of those orders. Their chief, uniting the character of king, priest, and warrior, possessed an extensive, legislative, and judicial jurisdiction. In the exercise of his military authority, he could punish offences committed in the army without the intervention of any other judge. He possessed the power to remedy the defects of legislation, and to him the suitor who had thrice ineffectually demanded right in the hundred, resorted to obtain it. He was the supreme conservator of the peace, and possessed the power of mitigating the severity of the law. In the performance of his judicial functions he visited each portion of his empire, and it may easily be imagined how closely the administration of justice depended on the personal excellence of a monarch possessed of so arbitrary an authority.

"Under the reign of Edgar, the diligent and rigid administration of justice by the sovereign must have given him a power beyond the law. He was always in the view of his subjects, always in their mind—the object of terror to the offender, of awe to the peaceable; and the punishment inflicted upon the robber would tend to appal every contemner of royal authority. Twice in each year, the 'basileus,' in whose person the highest functions of remedial jurisdiction were concentrated, visited every part of the dominions over which he had been called to rule. Charlemagne discharged these duties by his missi, just as our Anglo-Norman monarchs despatched their justices itinerant; but Edgar made his circuits in person; and proceeding from folk to folk, from shire to shire, from earldom to earldom, and from kingdom to kingdom, he listened to the supplications of the lowly, punished the unrighteous functionary, and rectified or amended the judgments of all in power. These eyres, diligently performed by the monarchs of the Anglo-Saxon empire, presented the 'basileus' to all the subjects and dependants of his crown, in the character of the source of conservative justice. When the ordinary folkmoots failed to relieve the suitor, he was to have recourse to the king. The letter of this law directs—and the direction was perhaps given for the king's ease and convenience—that the default of the inferior tribunal should be strictly proved. No one was to trouble the king until he had been denied right at home."

The power of the chiefs varied among the Teutonic races. Among the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, before they settled in Britain, they were termed ealdormen or aldermen, a title which originally denoted only the highest of the chieftains, but subsequently was conferred on almost every person in command. They formed a kind of ruling caste or tribe, possessing great influence and dominion over their followers, but without an extensive po-

litical authority vested in any one of them, excepting during war. Their power became more extensive after their conquest and settlement in Britain. In the course of time they acquired the prerogatives and titles of kings. The deplorable dissensions among the Britains having produced the destruction of the republican system and introduced royal authority, it is probable that the Anglo-Saxon chieftains aspired to the rank of the monarchs whom they had conquered, and that the titles of the tyrants of Britain were thus acquired by the hardy warriors who had subdued them.

The jurisdiction, composition, and origin of the witenagemot, are not accurately understood. Irregular in its organization, and indefinite in its authority, it appears partially to have supplied the place of a national congress. Its members were not elected, but consisted of the most prominent for rank or wealth. All who from their influence or power, could serve the monarch or his realm, were promiscuously convened. The earls, prelates, thanes, and principal proprietors composed an assembly representing the whole empire, summoned by the paramount sovereign. It exercised an extensive criminal jurisdiction, and whether owing to its great influence or actual authority, its assent to the laws which were to bind the realm was obtained, as desirable if not absolutely necessary.

"Legislation," says Palgrave, "constituted but a small portion of the ordinary business transacted by the Imperial Witenagemot. The wisdom of the assembly was shown in avoiding unnecessary change, consisting principally of traditionary usages and ancestral customs, the law was upheld by opinion. The people considered their jurisprudence as a part of their inheritance. Their privileges and their duties were closely conjoined; most frequently, the statutes themselves were only affirmances of ancient customs, or declaratory enactments. In the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth, therefore, the legislative functions of the Witenagemot, were of far less importance than the other branches of its authority. The concurrence of the Witan in grants made by or in the name of the king, was one of those branches."

The distinction between peers and commoners does not appear to have existed in the Anglo-Saxon Imperial Congress; neither did it possess a representative character, but was rather a constituent assembly, where a crowd of powerful subjects by acclamation, proclaimed their concurrence in national regulations, or united with the sovereign in protecting them from violation.

"Considered," says Palgrave, "as a political assembly, the witenagemot advanced rapidly in power: an advance, accelerated not only by the prosperity, but by the misfortunes of the realm. The sovereign could not compel the obedience of the different nations composing the Anglo-Saxon empire. Hence it became the more necessary for him to conciliate their opinions, if he solicited any service from a vassal prince or a vassal state, beyond the ordinary terms of the compact; still more so, when he needed the support of a free burgh or city. And we may view the assembly as partaking of the character of a political congress, in which the liegemen of the crown, or the communities protected by the 'basileus,' were asked or persuaded to relieve the exigencies of the state, or to

consider those measures which might be required by the common weal. The sovereign was compelled to *parley* with his dependants. It may be doubted whether any one member of the empire had power to legislate for any other member. The Regulus of Cumbria was unaffected by the vote of the earl of East-Anglia, if he chose to stand out against it. These dignitaries constituted a congress, in which the sovereign could treat more conveniently and effectually with his vassals than by separate negotiations."

During the existence of the primitive customs of the Teutons, their popular assemblies met in the open air, and religious feelings induced them to select the shade of ancient trees, which had become objects of veneration, or of heathen worship. The first innovation on a usage so well adapted to the convenience of a promiscuous multitude, is ascribed to Charlemagne. The effect if not the design of compressing the meetings within the walls of Stadthouse, was to render them more select, and reduce them from being popular conventions, to a more contracted character. The witenagemot essentially aided the monarch in the government of his realm. The necessity of an assembly of that description, to enable him to exercise the functions of his imperial station, proves the powerful check on the abuse of authority which the subordinate division of the country produced.

The judicial power of the witenagemot was extensive. All great offenders were punished by it, and as the principle was recognised that no one could exercise jurisdiction over the king's thane, except the king, the imperial assembly took cognizance of the case, on account of the magnitude of the cause or the rank of the offender. Sentences of outlawry, banishment, and forfeiture, were pronounced. Its authority was, indeed, uncertain, and its jurisdiction indefinite. It is not ascertained that one state was bound by the legislation of the rest. Its authority, however, increased with the exercise of power and the emergency of the case. Mr. Palgrave supposes that the Imperial witenagemot possessed three distinct characters; that it was a shire court for the district in which it was held, composed of all the men of the shire, including the reeves, and men of the township, who attended in the usual manner, and thus far it possessed the ordinary, specific jurisdiction of a shire court. The assemblage of the earls and thanes of the shires by special writs, would make it a land-gemot for the particular kingdom, whose powers would be derived from the presence of the principal men of the shires, and their assent to its decrees. The proclamation of king Edward would bring together the Scottish and British reguli, or kings, the great earls of Mercia, East-Anglia, Northumbria, and all the other heads of the communities from the remotest parts of the island. The laws enacted by an assembly thus variously composed, possessed different degrees of validity, and as we have just remarked, they were only binding

out of the district in which it was convened, by virtue of the express concurrence of the community to be affected by them.

Each Saxon state preserved its own laws, and possessed a political organization peculiar to itself. They derived greater aid from the excellence of their police regulations, than from the wisdom of their laws, in the preservation of order and protection of their rights.

By the division of the population into small communities, each with its officers, responsible for the violation of law within its jurisdiction, and the power to protect its members from aggression, they obtained a high social order. A shire was composed of townships or tithings, the smallest division and the primary element of a Saxon community, consisting of ten freeholders and their families, who were responsible for the preservation of the public peace; hundreds, or wapentakes, formed of townships, and in some cases there existed an intermediate division between the hundred and shire, called lathes and rapes. Each township had a twelfthind man or lord, and a gerefa elected, or nominated by the tenantry, who was the fiscal officer, received the tolls and dues, and superintended the agricultural labour of the villainage. In the assemblies of the people he always represented the lord, and gave such testimony as the lord would have given. The inhabitants of a township were bound to preserve good order among themselves, and they exercised their own police authority. They had the power to exclude strangers from residing among them. They possessed a court supposed to be similar to, and probably the origin of the Manorial Courts Baron, which existed after the Norman Conquest.

"A very singular and remote authority can be adduced for the legislative power originally belonging to these communities. The earliest laws of the Goths, those ascribed to Dicensus, their first legislator, were termed 'bellagines,' or by-laws, the laws of the by, or habitation; a name which we have extended to all municipal regulations, and from thence, by an easy extension, or perhaps misapplication, to the laws proceeding from any corporation. But it was originally employed to denote the laws and orders made in the Courts Leet, or Courts Baron, the ancient territorial jurisdictions of the township, in those peculiar cases whereto the public law does not extend."

An Anglo-Saxon township was under the dominion of a lord, and supposes the existence of a territorial superior. In this respect it differed from a Salic villa, which had an executive officer and judge, with authority similar to that possessed by the mayor or præpositus of a borough town. He assembled the courts, summoned the witnesses, and exercised jurisdiction over the whole township. The Anglo-Saxon states rigidly observed and retained aristocratical distinctions. In fixing the rate of punishment for offences, the life of an eorl was considered as equivalent to the lives of six eorls or plebeians, and a similar disparity was recognised as existing in their veracity. Servitude among them

is supposed to have originated in conquest, and it has been plausibly contended that the degraded race were the descendants of the ill-fated Britons

One of the regulations of the townships was the "hue and cry," by which, when a felony was committed, it was incumbent on all the inhabitants to pursue, with horn and with voice, the perpetrator of the crime; and, until discharged from the obligation, the township was responsible for his detection and arrest. The hue and cry has been regulated and enforced by several English statutes. By this judicious system, the attention of the people was constantly directed to the prevention of crime. The certainty of being apprehended when the whole population was set in motion, the moment the offence was discovered, powerfully operated on the unprincipled, to deter them from violating the law. From town to town, from hundred to hundred, was the pursuit kept up; and, as it advanced, the hue and cry increased the number of the pursuers. It is apparent that no system could be better adapted to the execution of the laws; and that without the prompt and active co-operation of the people, no police can be sufficiently strong and energetic for the effectual administration of justice. Where the execution of the laws is left entirely to public officers, and where the people take no part in apprehending offenders, or are subjected to no responsibilities, in consequence of the commission of crime in their vicinity, as in Spain and several other nations, the public highways are infested with banditti, and there exists no adequate security for either life or property. If the certainty of detection and punishment be the chief means of preventing the perpetration, that police is the best which can call to its support an irresistible power, and which inspires despair in the heart of him who contemplates the commission of crime, by presenting to his view the spectacle of a whole community bound to aid in his arrest. With such obstacles in the way of escape, crimes would be seldom deliberately committed. The great energy and power of a nation lie in the mass of the population; if that be weak or vicious, the government will be feeble, however numerous may be its armed forces. The spirit which animates the people is the best test of national stamina; and the more their energy is called into action, and their virtuous principles are practically exercised, the more vigorous will they become. A people looking listlessly at the administration of laws, soon cease to feel the moral obligation to obey them; but when their aid is invoked for their support, they acquire a lively interest in their faithful execution. That part of the statute of 3d Edward I., chap. ix., which provides that, "all, generally, shall be ready at the commandment and summons of sheriffs, and at the cry of the coun-

try, to pursue and arrest felons, where any need is," was reported by the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, to be in force in this state.

The next division of a Saxon community, in the ascending scale, was into hundreds, to which the townships were subordinate. "An hundred hydes of land, an hundred free families, an hundred tythings, or an hundred freemen, have all been assumed as the basis of the calculation from whence it derived its well known name." The townships were represented in the judicial assemblies of the hundred by the gerefa, or reeve, and four good and lawful men. The thanes and landlords within its jurisdiction, the clergy prior to the Norman Conquest, the reeve and representatives of the townships composed the hundred court, which was held every month.

"The hundred," says Palgrave, "was a court of voluntary as well as of contentious jurisdiction. All transactions by which property could be acquired, or by which right could be transferred, took place in the assemblies of the people: some few cases only were excepted, where an equal degree of authentic publicity could be given by other means. Contracts for the purchase of lands were made in the folkmoot; there the money was paid in the presence of the hundredors, who, if required, afterwards bore testimony to the fact in the shire; and there the charter or landboc was read and published. An assembly, convened for military purposes, or a court composed of the thanes or military tenants, with the intent of civil judicature, may have differed from the criminal tribunal; but the continued and unbroken succession of analogous customs, and documentary evidence, leads the inquirer to the conclusion, that, according to the regular constitution, the power of jurisdiction in its highest branches, in criminal jurisprudence, and in legislative proceedings, was vested in select bodies, the depositories of the authority of the community. In the shires or kingdoms of Sussex and Kent, the divisions called hundreds were much smaller, and consequently much more numerous, than in any other part of the Anglo-Saxon territory. Sussex was composed of rapes, but the hundreds retained their proper jurisdiction; in Kent, they were hundreds only in name, the jurisdiction being exercised in the lest or lathe. All the powers of judicature elsewhere appropriated to the hundred, belonged to these municipalities. The government of the lathe of Romney, with some changes, has been perpetuated to the present day; and, in the ancient jury of twenty-four, whose presentments, confirmed by the lords of the fees, and the reeves or præpositi of such as were absent, became the laws by which it is governed, we may discover the thanes of the Saxon age; more complete, and more satisfactory, is the elucidation which the Anglo-Saxon hundred receives from the history of the English boroughs. At present, I will not enter upon the much debated question respecting the antiquity of municipal franchises, a question which is not always discussed without some political bias or tendency. It must however be clearly understood, that a Saxon burgh was nothing more than a hundred, or an assemblage of hundreds, surrounded by a moat, a stockade, or a wall; and the name of the hundred was actually given to some of the most considerable cities, burghs, and towns of England. No right was conferred or destroyed by the feeble fortification which protected the burghesses; and the jurisdiction of the burghmoot or portmoot, differed from that possessed by the analogous districts in the open country, only in consequence of the police required by a more condensed population, and the institutions, perhaps of Roman origin, which incorporated the trading portions of the community: all of which were extraneous to the primitive territorial jurisdiction of the burgh, and in no respect affecting its constitutional existence or nature."

The shires, which were composed of the subordinate divisions,

hundreds, and tythings, are divided by Mr. Palgrave into two classes, such as constituted in their origin independent kingdoms or states, and such as were formed by the dismemberment of larger states or kingdoms. Without adverting to the different systems, by which they were distinguished, we shall merely allude to the general features of their government, for however great was the variation of their political powers, it appears that they were subject to a similar judicial organization. The political authority naturally was affected by their ability to resist the encroachments of their neighbours, or monarch, and it will be sufficient for our purpose to consider the general aspect of their internal polity. The power of the ealdorman extended over the shire, but he sometimes included several shires under his authority. He or the bishop presided in the shire court, and pronounced the ecclesiastical and municipal law. Each shire had a gerefæ.

"If," says Palgrave, "as there is every reason to suppose, the convention before the more modern justices in eyre was equivalent to the shire-moot, each hundred was specially represented by twelve men, corresponding to the Teutonic Echevins, and who perhaps attended with the alderman. The same delegation was required from the burghs and demesne manors of the crown, which, as I have before observed, were equivalent to distinct hundreds; and the four men and the reeve from each township, who were present on behalf of all of their townships, who were not specially summoned, completed the assembly. In this court, most of the pleas in which the king was a party were determined. In criminal cases, these resulted from the infraction of that protection which was emphatically termed his peace, and which might extend the cognizance of the court to almost every transgression. The rights of the church were also determined in the shire-moot; and the judges of this high remedial tribunal appear to have been specially charged to protect the people against the abuses and oppressions of unrighteous power. There were many features, however, which the shire-moots had in common with the hundred, the promulgation of deeds and charters, for instance, might take place, either in the shire or the hundred; and it appears, that in all civil suits, the shire had an original jurisdiction, similar to that of the hundred, besides the appellate jurisdiction over the subordinate community. It may be added also, that, like the hundred court, the composition of the shire-moot seems to have varied with its object, and that, like the ancient parliaments, it appears to have contained within it more than one court or assembly; and, therefore, that if we do not find any appearance of the judicial delegation in these proceedings, which, from their nature, merely required the sanction of the thanes or baronage, we are not thereby compelled to deny their powers or existence."

Among the many admirable features of English jurisprudence which have been traced to the Anglo-Saxon institutions, the trial by jury cannot pass unnoticed, and we shall endeavour to give, in a succinct form, Mr. Palgrave's views respecting it, which differ, as to its early constitution, from those of Blackstone, and many other learned authors. In the consideration of the subject, municipal juries, who participated in the assemblies of the people, must not be confounded with traverse juries, employed for the proof of facts in a controversy in which individual rights were involved. A distinction is observed between the thanes or echevins, the jurors, and the compurgators. The echevins were elected by

the community, and constituted a permanent magistracy: the customary unwritten law was a fact to be ascertained from their knowledge and belief, and their duty extended beyond the determination of a contested question. The compurgators pledged their faith, under oath, in support of the justice of the cause that they espoused. The jurors were selected by the king's officers, and were impaneled as the triers of an issue. They deposed to the facts which were within their own knowledge, and in the opinion of our author, did not, as in the present time, constitute a tribunal to decide, upon evidence adduced before it. They were persons who had been the witnesses to a transaction, and at the wapentake they gave their verdict respecting it. A trial by a tribunal of sworn witnesses, elected out of the popular assemblies, and employed for the decision of the rights of property, may be traced to the Anglo-Saxon times, but in criminal cases it was not introduced until after the Conquest. The jurors were witnesses, selected by the officers on account of their respectability, who, of their own knowledge, and without further evidence, decided the facts. If any of them were unacquainted with the facts, they were rejected, and others chosen. If they professed to know the facts, but differed respecting them, others were sought for, until the indispensable number of twelve at least could be found, who would give their testimony. When the facts to be proved were notorious, they were selected generally from the county, but if there were any known witnesses to a fact, as to the signature to a deed, they were impaneled. With all the care that could be exercised in the exclusion of the prejudiced, and selecting the most honourable, with the right of challenge, and with the separate examination of each juror, it is apparent that the Anglo-Saxon tribunal bears no comparison with the admirable institution which supplies its place and bears its name. The jury differed, however, from ordinary witnesses, in their possessing an organization, the care that was taken in their selection, and in their always being under oath. Evidence was usually given upon the simple affirmation of the witness, except in certain special cases; but compurgation was always made by oath. Trials by ordeal, and wager of law, with compurgation existed, but until a later period, there was no mode of compelling a party accused to abide by an inquest. Litigation was pursued in the Anglo-Saxon courts with the utmost virulence; and amidst a tumultuous assembly, a powerful litigant, surrounded by his compurgators, whose oaths could screen him from justice, the humble were too often doomed to be the victims of the powerful. The courts encouraged the practice of selecting from the multitude of witnesses, the best men of the country to determine controversies, and thus formed a tribunal less exposed to the influence of fear or corruption.

"Human institutions," says Mr. Palgrave, "like the works of nature, are links of one chain: they cannot be severed, so as to fit in all respects into an artificial classification; and we may readily admit, that these tribunals were not always distinguishable from each other with perfect accuracy; yet it is evident, that neither the compurgators nor the echevins were required to perform the duties which uniformly belonged to the jury. But, in the capitulary, which directs that the 'witnesses' were to be chosen from the peculiar neighbourhood, the pagus, the town, or the county, we recognise the principle of the English 'Trial by the Country,' to which the ancient common law adhered so anxiously, that, if the venue was laid in a particular street, the jury could only be returned from the street itself; whilst a trespass committed in Westminster Hall was to be testified by a jury of the dealers and traders who were stationed at their booths within its spacious walls. The election of the Frankish witnesses was to be made by the 'missus' or the 'comes,' as amongst us by the 'vicecomes,' or sheriff, who replaced the ancient earl. They were to be separately examined, in the manner directed by the law of Normandy. Twelve are enumerated as offering their testimony. Until they gave their verdict they were to be kept without meat or drink; and none could be challenged but for lawful cause."

In the Anglo-Saxon era, a jury was never summoned in civil cases, except by the precepts of the king, and if the suit was founded on a plaint, the opinion of the suitors, or the compurgatory oath, constituted the common law mode of decision. Compurgation was an expedient resorted to, to supply the absence or defect of human testimony. When the accusation was preferred by the hundred, founded on suspicions which prevailed in the community, the accused was entitled to adduce the oaths of his lord, who was his legal protector, and of his compeers, to counterbalance the statement of the prosecutor. The corroborating asseverations of his neighbours and relatives, were considered as sufficient to clear him of the charge. If the lord would not vouch for his good character, the number of the compurgators was increased to compensate for this want of support. If he could produce no one whose oath could sustain his reputation, another chance of escaping punishment was afforded to him; the ordeal was extended as a boon by which he could be rescued from the penalty of guilt. There were three modes by which an offender might be arraigned. The first was by the presentment under oath of the twelve chief thanes or echevins of the hundred, who, together with the geref, were sworn that they would not accuse any innocent man, nor conceal any crime. They made the presentment on behalf of the hundred, and bore a strong resemblance to a grand jury. The second mode was by "three or four" men who were the inhabitants of the township, and thirdly by the injured party, who was obliged to take an oath, supported by twelve compurgators, that he was not actuated by hatred or animosity.

"The culprit," says Palgrave, "being thus charged with the crime, either by the voice of the country, or by the testimony of the appellant, he was put upon his deliverance; but, at this stage of the trial, if he belonged to the sithcund class, or to the villainage, he was required to obtain the testimony of his superior. The hlaforð, or his geref, on his behalf, came forth and swore that the man had not been convicted of theft within the period of limitation, which appears usually to

have been fixed from the last great council, and had never paid the theft-fine. This declaration was confirmed by the oaths of two other true men, or thanes ; and the culprit had then the privilege of clearing himself, either by simple compurgation, or by the simple ordeal. If he asserted the liberty of appealing to that testimony of character which was termed compurgation, he himself swore to his innocence, and a certain number of his neighbours, whose 'worth,' according to the legal arithmetic of the Anglo-Saxons, was considered as equivalent to one pound, were assigned as his compurgators. If they confirmed his oath by their own, he was acquitted of the charge : but if he was unable to procure this testimony, and dared to abide the 'judgment of God,' he plunged his arm into the boiling cauldron up to the wrist, or he bore the red-hot iron in his naked hand for the distance of nine paces, and if, after the lapse of three days, no marks of injury appeared, he was declared innocent of the crime."

The aristocratical regulations of the Anglo-Saxons drew a distinction between the veracity of the noble and the ignoble. If the lord refused to vouch for the accused, as the oath of one earl was equal to those of six ceorls or plebeians, he was compelled either to undergo the triple ordeal, or produce five compurgators, which, with his own oath, made up the requisite number.

In civil suits, the compurgation was regulated by the value of the property, and the rank of the party was also estimated in the manner of trial. The king's thane, when charged with homicide, adduced the oaths of twelve of his peers, in support of his innocence, for an inferior thane, the oaths of eleven of his peers and of one king's thane, were required. The form of compurgation varied at different times ; at one period the compurgators were selected from among the relatives of the accused, but this facility of escape was subsequently lost by the alteration of the usage.

A civil suit was commenced by distraining the defendant's property ; but by the laws of Canute, this proceeding could only be resorted to where he had contumaciously refused to submit to the judgment of the hundred, after he had been thrice summoned, and a fourth day of appearance had been appointed by the shire. After the establishment of the king's courts, this power was exercised by the sheriff. The common law mode of proceeding by summons and distringas, originated in the Saxon proceeding, and the power of the landlord to distrain the goods of his tenant possesses a like origin. When blood had been shed, amends were obtained by force, and Mr. Palgrave suggests that the restrictions imposed by law or usage on the feuds which grew out of these violent attempts to obtain justice, resulted in the trial by battle.

Where the offender could not be reached, the community to which he was attached was responsible for his transgression.

"When stolen property could be traced within the district of any particular village, the inhabitants were bound to make good the loss to the injured party, unless they could show the track of the cattle passing again without their territories. The lord of the Anglo-Saxon township was directed to appoint an officer, who was to assist in searching for the stolen cattle ; and in each district, the 'gerefa' was enjoined to raise the power of his bailliwick, and to join in assist-

ing the parties grieved, who, in the language of the border law, followed their lawful 'trodd, with hue and cry, and with hound and horn,' until the discovery of the offender."

When a capital offence was committed in an open and flagrant manner, as when the thief was caught in the possession of the stolen property, or the murderer was standing near the corpse, with the bloody weapon in his hand, no further trial was required, but it was lawful to execute him on the spot. The outlaw, who was considered as having forfeited the protection of his country, was exposed to an unrevenged destruction. These barbarous usages appear to have been tolerated, rather than to have arisen from the law, but the power that restricted them, recognised their legal existence. The rigour of their police condemned a stranger found lurking in the woods, who did not blow his horn to announce his presence.

An Anglo-Saxon township was an association having very extensive powers of self-government, and subjected to a mutual pledge or responsibility for the preservation of social order. Loose in its organization, and destitute of the means which a more enlightened community possesses of enforcing its regulations or cultivating the moral feelings, an Anglo-Saxon state depended on the alacrity and energy of the people for the execution of its few and simple laws. Their police regulations, formed, as we before remarked, one of the strongest and best features of their system. A military guard performed "watch and ward" on the highway. Every man did military service in his turn. The wardens were fined if the robber escaped with his prey. Each township and hundred was charged with the execution of the law within its borders, and its vigilance was excited by being responsible for the appearance of any of its inhabitants who were accused of offences which its duty required it to present. Four men from every hide in the hundred, under the wardreeve, performed the watch and ward on the king's highway. An additional and powerful security was found in the necessity imposed upon every suspected person of defending himself by the compurgation of the members of the township to which he belonged, and their responsibility for his good behaviour, operated as a check on their rashly and improperly pledging their faith under oath to his integrity.

Crimes were divided by the Anglo-Saxons into two classes, such as were inextinguishable—for which death was inflicted without remission—and those for which a compensation would redeem the life or liberty of the offender. Treason, desertion from the banner of the leader, theft, where the criminal was taken with the mainour, housebreaking, were inextinguishable, and murder was punished with death. The compensation called "were," which satisfied public justice, and in many cases appeased the vengeance

of the relatives of the slain, is likened by Mr. Palgrave to damages in modern times in civil actions.

For about six centuries, the Anglo-Saxons possessed the dominion of England. In an age noted for its intellectual darkness, and ranked among barbarous nations, they are entitled to distinction for their political institutions, and for fostering the seeds whence have sprung the principal features of constitutional liberty. They were mostly herdsmen, and their laws and government corresponded to their condition. It is not to be expected that it should have been precisely the same in all the divisions into which England was separated, for their mutual hostilities would necessarily give a preponderance of power to the strong over the subdued kingdoms, and talents and address would invest the public functionaries with greater authority than that possessed by the timid, imbecile, or unpopular rulers of a bold and turbulent people. We find accordingly that their constitutions varied in different shires, and that the imperial authority during the progress of society assumed different attributes; but the resemblance was always striking, and down to the Norman Conquest and even after that period, the Anglo-Saxon institutions were remarkably homogeneous, and tenaciously adhered to by the people. The influence of the Norman Conquest did not subvert them, and the Anglo-Saxon laws prevailed down to the reign of Henry II.

At first we see them during the Heptarchy, divided into distinct kingdoms, each subjected to its own sovereign and independent government. Discord brought in its train all the evils of war and conquest. Several of the states in turn aspired to exercise dominion over the rest, until at last the kingdom of Wessex gained the ascendancy, and the success of Egbert gave to England a monarch. A common government secured tranquillity to the country, and as their institutions were the same, and their local governments remained unimpaired, a more perfect organization of society and increased security to the people, conferred stability and additional freedom on the nation. But the local governments preserved their powers until foreign conquests and successful usurpations amalgamated the local authorities into one imperial government. One king exercised dominion over all the states, but on his accession to the throne, a formal recognition by each of them was requisite, and the laws which were enacted in one of the states derived their validity beyond its borders only by the assent or usages of the rest. At a subsequent period, we behold the power of the crown almost supreme, and then the parliaments, which superseded the witenagemot, gradually acquiring their authority. A long struggle ensued between the monarch and his people, in which the latter rescued from him in the form of charters their most valuable rights. It is not probable that those rights existed in their full vigour during the Anglo-

Saxon times, but when acquired, they certainly possessed the form of something that had been lost. In most of their revolutions, the English appear to have struggled for specific objects, practical principles, not drawn from books, but from real life, of which the enjoyment or the tradition had taught them the value, and with which, when once acquired, they were, for a time at least, content. It is more a matter of speculation than of useful inquiry to consider what would have been the condition of England, if the Saxon states had been preserved and modified to suit the purposes of a national government, if the witenagemot had been invested with ample federal power—with authority sufficient to maintain the peace of society, without subverting the local jurisdictions. With the advancement of the community in the arts and knowledge which have subsequently dignified and elevated it, the nation might have grown to its present importance, without passing through those scenes of despotism and bloodshed which have marked the career of that constitution in its march to the condition of freedom, but which have engendered many attributes by which its excellence is impaired.

The origin of representation and of the house of commons in the legislature of England, is a useful but embarrassing subject of inquiry. As we have already remarked, the witenagemot was a constituent and not a representative assembly. The ceorls or plebeians attended, but it has not been ascertained that they were authorized to participate in its deliberations. By the great charter, the common council formed for the purpose of taxation, consisted of the prelates, the peers, and the tenants of the crown in chief; but the first assembly in which a representation of the people is fully recognised, was convened in the year 1265, when the sheriff was, by writs still extant, directed "to elect and return two knights for each county; two citizens for each city; and two burgesses for every burgh in the county." The principle of representation, however, had gradually arisen from a more remote period, but it was contracted in its operation.

"I have," says Mr. Palgrave, "observed that the *næmda* was the foundation of the representation of the peasantry in the Scandinavian diets; the conversion of jurors or *echevins* into virtual representatives of the people, in assemblies possessing the powers of legislation, is one of the most singular events in the history of the Teutonic jurisprudence; and it is so general, as to lead to the supposition that almost every court, parliament, or assembly, in which the commons obtained a share in legislation, has arisen, in part, from a tribunal, in the nature of a court of *echevins*, of an inquest, or of a jury. Wales affords an early example of such a delegation, in the assembly convened by Hoel for the reformation of the law. Six men were called from every commot, that is to say, twelve from every cantred, versed in the law, and distinguished by their station. Their advice, joined to that of the clergy, was given upon the basis of existing customs; they repealed the bad laws, amended others, and enacted new; and the code so prepared, when confirmed by a second delegation of twelve laymen, and one clerk, Blegored the wise, became the existing law."

The echevins or jurors here spoken of, were a permanent magistracy, which appears to have been elected by the people, and from the aristocracy, having no resemblance to the tribunal of the same name, charged with the trial of a lawsuit. The assembly convened by William the Conqueror, composed of twelve men from each shire, "who were sworn that they would well and truly declare the law without addition, prevarication, or concealment," was considered by Lord Hale as a parliament. The occasion of its assembling was a demand made by the people for the laws of the Confessor, and their presentment, when reduced to writing by the king's order, retained the force of law. The custom of giving the law by the presentment of a jury appears to have been very common among all the Teutonic states. Laws existing only in custom and usage, were ascertained and promulgated by them. The transition from declaring the law to either amending it, or forming new ones when no established usage could be agreed upon, was easy, and thus legislative powers seem gradually to have been assumed.

The representation of the burghs in the witenagemot might have formed an assembly analogous to the house of commons. The head men of the burghs were the proper representatives of the community, and the inconvenience or impracticability of their all abandoning the duties of their stations, would naturally occasion a deputation to act in behalf of the whole. Popular elections, it seems, seldom if ever existed, at least in the manner in which in modern times the right of suffrage is understood. The English institutions have been gradually progressive. Precedent on precedent would, by degrees, extend the original authority, and form it to suit the condition and feelings of the people. As they increased in wealth and power, their aid to the king would naturally be sought after, and as they could not all assemble, their deputing others to represent them would in the course of time mould into form, and establish as an irrefragable right what at first was a casual occurrence, or had been produced by an emergency which rendered relief or support from them essential to the king. Revolutions increased the authority of the people, and rapidly converted privileges into rights. The examples and instruction of the more refined states of antiquity were not unknown to them. Although the age was one of literary darkness, yet a portion of the knowledge a few had accumulated, would, in the course of time, be imparted. Besides, the communication with Rome, and intercourse with other nations, would constitute channels by which the knowledge of the various systems of government which had subsisted would be diffused. In investigating the growth of the institutions of England, through a course of many centuries, it would seem to us to be improper to ascribe every improvement to a series of acci-

dents, or to the gradual extension by usage ; something should be attributed to the inventive powers of the people, and much more to their knowledge of what had existed in other nations.

"Whether," says Palgrave, "on special occasions, and for particular purposes, the great burghs might not form conventions separate from the witenagemot, is a conjecture not entirely unworthy of notice. The union of the Cinque Ports, so truly Anglo-Saxon in the organization of its courts, appears to have existed from time immemorial. The Danish burghs are always noticed as if they constituted a recognised state or community. Some species of mutual concert would seem to have been necessary amongst the burghs which could not be required to pay the geld, unless they contributed simultaneously. Exeter was one of these communities : and the city so distinguished, attempted to form a defensive confederation with the other burghs against William the Conqueror. An opposition to the intrusive sovereign might naturally have induced the citizens to enter into an alliance with the shires of Devon or Dorset. But this league bespeaks a consciousness that the burghs formed a class apart, possessing interests and privileges distinct from the open country, and that they were accustomed to co-operation."

The feudal system exercised a powerful influence on all the nations of Europe, in the middle ages: and the laws and institutions which sprung up under its operation, continue in many of them to exist to the present time ; in others, it has been but recently overthrown, whilst in all, may be seen its effects strongly and perhaps indelibly marked. Mr. Palgrave traces its origin to the Roman system of parcelling out land as the reward and price of military services. He denies the accuracy of the theory of Dr. Robertson, and many other ingenious writers, that it originated in a systematic plan of the barbarians of the fifth and sixth centuries, of dividing a conquered country. As the permanent occupation of land was originally unknown among the Teutonic nations, it could not have originated with them. So powerful and extensive was the sway exercised by the Romans, that it is not surprising to find that the countries which they conquered, should retain the impress of their manners, customs, and institutions. Not only the language, but the civil and military regulations of the subjugated nations, exhibited an imitation of those of the conqueror. The Romans planted their military colonies on the borders of their dominions, and distributed land among them, which their interest as well as duty prompted them to protect ; and, in its defence, their valour was usefully exercised, in preventing the encroachments of the northern barbarians. Unlike the Teutonic races, the authority of whose chieftains emanated from the community, and who obeyed their will when he led them to combat, the Roman army submitted to the supreme and irresponsible authority of the emperor. Among the Romans, there was no compact between the sovereign and the subject : but when the former bestowed the land, he imposed the service as the equivalent ; but, among the Teutons, the obligations between the superior and the inferior proceeded from their peculiar relationship and usages, imposing the reciprocal duty of pro-

tection and dependence. Different as were the usages of the Romans and barbarians, it was natural that they should have become incorporated, when by conquest they were mingled. The rude invaders of the imperial dominions felt the influence of the refined inhabitants of the countries which they had conquered. The union gave origin to the feudal system. The dry outline of feudality, according to Mr. Palgrave, consisted in the Roman principle of assigning a particular portion of land, as the price of military service. But the minds and manners of the barbarians gave to it a new form. Under them, the obligations of feudality became more extensive, and were annexed to the right to the land.

"The feudal system," says Palgrave, "was created by the union of Roman laws and barbarian usages. The heterogeneous nature of the elements is not immediately discernible. When we contemplate the venerable structure, we are, in some degree, deceived by the uniform tint which time has bestowed. But a closer examination of the parts will easily enable us to detect their origin, and to point out how the fragments furnished by the Romans have been built up and cemented, so as to form the fabric of feudality. Whatever the barbarians copied, whether in art or jurisprudence, they imitated rudely;—they worked in coarser materials, and with inferior tools. Under the chisel of the Frank or the Goth, the pillar was deprived of its proportions—the acanthine capital lost its grace—and in all the details of his building the architect tried to be a copyist. But his mind was employed in raising an edifice on a vast and comprehensive plan. The parts adapted themselves into each other—column ranged with column—arch rose upon arch. The resemblance to the prototype becomes more and more indistinct;—and the series which begins in the Atrium of Diocletian, or in the Basilica of Constantine, ends in the cloister of Salisbury, or the long-drawn aisles of Notre Dame."

The effect of the feudal system was to give a regularity and definitiveness to the authority of the sovereign, which mere political superiority could not bestow. A relationship was established between the vassal and his lord, cemented by a mutual dependence, and rendered imposing to the public by the solemnities of homage, which enforced upon the one the obligation of protection, and upon the other the duty of support and obedience. Among a rude and barbarous people, it may easily be imagined how powerfully this system aided in the prevention of civil commotions. It partially supplied the place of those wholesome regulations and equal laws, which, in a more enlightened community, are created and sustained by the people. There are few communities competent to self-government. It requires not merely wisdom in the formation of laws—for there are few nations which do not contain lawgivers capable of discerning the measures best adapted to the public good—but it consists mainly in an honourable fidelity to the principles adopted for the government of the community. A wise constitution can easily be written; to secure its adoption is more difficult; but to have it observed faithfully, and to prevent a violation of its provisions, are the chief difficulties, and as such, the chief obstacles to the uni-

versal extension of freedom. The question of the existence of the feudal system among the Anglo-Saxons, has been one of doubt and perplexity. Their institutions exhibit several features of it, but it was not developed in its full vigour until the reign of the Conqueror. As on the continent, it did not spring into existence in its full vigour at once, but gradually grew to maturity; it is probable that the ground-work was prepared prior to the Conquest: and that the Norman king, who was familiar with its operation, brought it to a state of perfection. It was admirably calculated to enable him to reward his followers, and to secure their allegiance in a newly acquired dominion. It gave a distinctive character to European society, and birth to the most prominent transactions of their history. The age has passed, when it can attract respect or admiration among mankind. National security and human freedom are beginning to rest on the firmer foundation of equality among the people, and representative authority in the government. As our object was merely to state the origin of feudality, and not to narrate its principles, we shall not enter into any further details.

The European governments began their career as confederacies. Wars and internal dissensions introduced monarchical power. In an age of intellectual darkness, and among a people stigmatized as barbarians, a different result could not have been expected; but it is rather deserving of admiration that they preserved their institutions so long. They present a striking illustration of the difficulty of amalgamating communities, where distinct powers and separate jurisdictions are once firmly established among a people. Violence alone destroyed the lines of demarcation. The extent and durability of the confederated system have probably been underrated. When firmly adhered to, its advantages cannot be exaggerated. Political associations among free communities possessed of a national identity, have existed at different periods from the earliest times recorded in history, and will probably arise in future ages, unless a signal example among an enlightened people, of their instability, should bring them entirely into disrepute. The Teutons preserved their polity for several centuries, although there existed, in their continual wars, and subsequently in the monarchical authority, the most powerful obstacles to its continuance. Neither with them nor with the Greeks, does there appear to have existed any very active principle of consolidation. Dismemberment, on the contrary, and its inevitable results, civil wars, and foreign conquests, or the usurpations of their own successful military leaders, were the cause and the instrument of amalgamation. If, among the Anglo-Saxons, consolidation did not take place for several centuries, although the executive, and, to a certain extent, judicial authority was held by arbitrary kings, and many subordinate

military rulers were ever ready to embark with them in warlike expeditions, what would be thought of an enlightened people, whose magistrates possess but a limited term of office, who should establish a confederacy which could not exist for more than half a century?

After the republican institutions of antiquity, there are few subjects more productive of benefit in the investigation, than the origin of the governments of modern Europe. In exploring the subterranean cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the customs, and productions of antiquity are vividly impressed upon the mind. We see the ruins, indicative of a state of society, existing centuries ago, which was not far removed in refinement, and perhaps surpassed in intelligence, a living generation, who are unmindful that they cultivate a soil which once sustained a race of men, who, for ages, were ignorant of servitude, and boasted of the political virtue which they possessed. In the application of the principles of correct government, the improvement of mankind has been slow. The consequence of a want of a healthful and regular action in the federal authorities, has been usurpation and discord. Imperfect as were the institutions of the Teutonic race, there were some bold features, of admirable aspect, some excellent rules of policy, well adapted to promote the happiness of mankind, which it is to be regretted have not been perpetuated in their full vigour, and improved by the skill which more enlightened communities possess. The distribution of power among minute divisions of the people, and investing the aggregate assemblage with a superintending authority, present the outline of the wisest constitutional government. The ancients were defective in this particular. Men are too apt to suppose that when they divest the supreme executive authority of the kingly title and attributes, their freedom is achieved. But important as it unquestionably is, to prevent the concentration of arbitrary or permanent power in the executive, it may be equally dangerous to allow it to accumulate in any other quarter, where the equal rights of all the people will not be regarded. It is as absurd to accumulate in a central functionary the authority not of national concern, but solely to be administered in the subordinate divisions of the country, as it is to withhold power from a national government, which is useful in its operation, or essential for the advancement of the general welfare, or independence of the whole community. The counties and townships, or hundreds, for we have partially preserved the Anglo-Saxon divisions, have interests peculiar to themselves; which would unquestionably be better protected under their management, than by placing all the powers of society in a great central gulf, where all the interests, improvements, and hopes of increasing prosperity, are lost amidst the turmoils and the intrigues of faction, or the wan-

tonness of arbitrary power. The welfare of our cities is advanced by the local assemblies, the councils, which prescribe regulations for their government, and disburse a revenue for their improvement. The same system extended to the counties would be productive of a corresponding advantage.

The tendency of the Teutonic race to form confederacies, has already been noticed. Various tribes, who accepted the appellation of Saxons, from the largest of them, formed during the fourth century, an extensive confederacy in the north of Europe. The Franks were organized under a similar confederacy, which had been longer in existence, and had inspired terror in the Romans. Their strength was combined against a common enemy. Their predatory wars, and the piracies with which they infested the coasts of Belgium, Gaul, and Britain, were characteristic of a barbarous people; but their power was too great to be entirely overcome. The settlement of the Franks in Gaul laid the foundation of one of the most polished nations of the earth, and left ample scope for the expansion of the Saxon confederacy, which was increased by the aggregation of states seduced from its ally, and as we have already seen, the current of emigration did not stop until England had been overrun. These confederacies were necessarily loose and ill-constructed. They were probably held together only by national affinity, and a common danger.

In the fifth century, the seven provinces of Gaul, under the dominion of the Roman Emperor, assumed for a time the appearance and many of the attributes of an imposing confederacy. The vassal nations forming the extensive empire of Rome, retained their peculiar systems of policy and jurisprudence. The government of that unwieldy empire, was necessarily distributed among subordinate agents. The whole was constituted into four prefectures, which were divided into dioceses, and these again into provinces. The policy of the Romans induced them to permit the countries which they conquered to retain such of their institutions as did not interfere with the Imperial supremacy. Each province possessed a local government. The Roman distribution of a conquered country into *civitates*, was in Gaul composed of the barbarian states. An assembly formed of citizens distinguished for rank or wealth, exercised jurisdiction over each city. Corporations of artificers possessed peculiar immunities, and framed laws for their government. The convention of the seven provinces of Gaul, regulated by an edict of Honorius, was annually assembled at Arles, and was composed of the magistrates and bishops of the cities, the counts of the provinces, special deputies from Novempopulania and the second Aquitaine, and certain prominent landholders. But the power of legislation ultimately vested in an arbitrary and irresponsible superior. The vague power of the confederacy does not appear to have

extended beyond the privilege of expressing to the emperor the sense of the community. Their laws were transmitted to Rome for his approbation, and even the authority of framing regulations suited to their condition, which might have mitigated the severity of despotism, was impaired by the power of supervision which belonged to the prætorian prefect. Two-thirds of the governing classes were essential to constitute a legal meeting, and the laws enacted were required to be signed by all who were present. Legates or representatives were elected to convey their petitions to the emperor, and they also possessed the power of impeaching an obnoxious governor. Freedom of debate was to be secured by a severe reprimand to the magistrate who attempted to influence the deliberation of the council, and that the sentiments of the people might be communicated in their own language, no alteration could be made in the instrument which had been adopted. To secure a full attendance, a fine of five pounds of gold was imposed upon the absent members, which regulation is coupled by Gibbon with the sarcastic remark, that they "seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors."

Imperfect as was a confederacy organized for the safety or convenience of imperial power, it was not destitute of the strength to excite alarm.

"But if," says Mr. Palgrave, "the legates, who might be deputed not only by a diocese or by a province, but by any one single city, or single corporation, or college of operatives, had repaired simultaneously to the capital, these representatives of the communities would soon have become the states-general of the Roman empire. The revolutions of the middle ages would have been anticipated; and the uncontrolled autocracy of the emperor would have been transformed into a limited monarchy. This tendency, indeed, seems to have become manifest; and the instructions addressed by Theodosius and his colleagues to the prefect of the East, evidently betray an uneasy suspicion of the consequences likely to ensue from the growth and consolidation of institutions, which it was expedient to check, whilst they were yet unable to dispute the mandates of the sovereign. The cities are enjoined to desist from sending their peculiar legates, and they are directed to assemble or hold their 'conventus,' and to despatch their petitions by two or three legates for the entire province. But this precaution was not sufficient to allay the apprehensions which were felt in the imperial consistory; and from another rescript, dated two years afterwards, we collect that one or two legates, on behalf of the entire diocese, would be more welcome to the emperor than the two or three legates from each of the several provinces of which it was composed.

"The object of these regulations cannot be mistaken; and the secret sentiments of the monarch may be discovered beneath the veil of the law. By reducing the number of the legates, the imperial court diminished the chances of their aggregating, either by accident or design, into a known and visible body. Popular rights can never be asserted with success, otherwise than by the recognised union of those in whom the privileges are vested. And the dutiful request, which no wearer of the purple could have refused to the loud-voiced multitude of humble petitioners convened in the basilica or the hippodrome, might be easily eluded or denied when it emanated from the deputations of submissive courtiers, scarcely discernible amidst the thronged halls of the sacred palace."

The council, or senate of Gaul, survived the dismemberment of the Roman Empire. In an assembly convened at Toulouse, by Alaric the Gothic king, the laws of the Romans were revised, and after having been ratified, first by the states, and then by the cities, were finally adopted. The barbarian conqueror of Roman Gaul, thus adopted the laws and institutions of a people whom he had subdued, as the basis of his authority. The modern governments of Europe appear to have arisen from a combination of Teutonic institutions and Roman regulations. The imitative spirit natural to man, filled the breasts of the barbarian vanquishers of the legions of the Eternal City, with the ambition to emulate the splendour, and mingle with their inveterate customs the laws and the usages, of an empire whose power had so long inspired them with awe. Wherever the Teutons lived, however, they preserved the divisions and jurisdiction of their communities, until wars, feudality, superstition, and ignorance, destroyed their organization, and secured the ascendancy of monarchical power. The states composing the empire of Charlemagne were reduced to subjection by successful wars. The consolidated monarchies which grew out of it, acquired a formation natural to the times, the people, and the doctrines of the age. England, more remote from the operation of the influence which gave to the continental nations the impulse that fixed for centuries their political destiny, was preserved from the total extinction of constitutional liberty. The shelter of the common law fostered a spirit of independence, which at intervals in their history is conspicuous in charters extorted from their kings.

Mr. Palgrave's valuable work presents to the view a wide field for investigation, and rewards the attention which follows him in his learned researches. His polished style, and extensive resources, will always command admiration and respect, but it is to be regretted, that in abandoning chronological order, he did not supply its place by a more systematic arrangement. The table of contents is copious, but does not compensate for the want of an index. Marginal chronological references would greatly facilitate the reader in fully understanding a dissertation, which roams, *ad libitum*, over a space of several centuries.

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The series of Treatises, of which the present is one, is published under the following circumstances:—

The Right Honourable and Rev. Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgewater, died in the month of February, 1825; he directed certain trustees therein named, to invest in the public funds, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling; this sum, with the accruing dividends thereon, to be held at the disposal of the President, for the time being, of the Royal Society of London, to be paid to the person or persons nominated by him. The Testator further directed, that the person or persons selected by the said President, should be appointed to write, print, and publish one thousand copies of a work, on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation; illustrating such work, by all reasonable arguments, as, for instance, the variety and formation of God's creatures in the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms; the effect of digestion, and, thereby, of conversion; the construction of the hand of man; and an infinite variety of other arguments; as also by discoveries, ancient and modern, in arts, sciences, and the whole extent of literature.

He desired, moreover, that the profits arising from the sale of the works so published, should be paid to the authors of the works.

The late President of the Royal Society, Davies Gilbert, Esq., requested the assistance of his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the Bishop of London, in determining upon the best mode of carrying into effect the intentions of the Testator. Acting with their advice, and with the concurrence of a nobleman immediately connected with the deceased, Mr. Davies Gilbert appointed the following eight gentlemen to write separate treatises in the different branches of the subjects here stated:—

I. The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man, by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

II. The Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, by John Kidd, M. D., F. R. S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford.

III. Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology, by the Rev. William Whewell, M. A., F. R. S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

IV. The hand: its mechanism and vital endowments as evincing design, by Sir Charles Bell, K. H., F. R. S.

V. Animal and Vegetable Physiology, by Peter Mark Roget, M. D., Fellow of and Secretary to the Royal Society.

VI. Geology and Mineralogy, by the Rev. William Buckland, D. D., F. R. S., Canon of Christ Church, and Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford.

VII. The History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals, by the Rev. William Kirby, M. A., F. R. S.

VIII. Chemistry, Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, by William Prout, M. D., F. R. S.

The whole of these Treatises are nearly finished, and will be put to press as soon as received, and published in a cheap and handsome form.

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